A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SIKHS

VOLUME ONE
(1469-1765)

TEJA SINGH
GANDA SINGH

PUBLICATION BUREAU
PUNJABI UNIVERSITY, PATIALA

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PREFACE

(First Edition)

In a way, this is the first attempt to write a history of the Sikhs from a secular stand-point, to show how the foundations of their character were laid by their Gurus, who were their temporal as well as spiritual guides, how their political institutions grew out of their religious origins and national needs, how suffering intensified their character and moulded their national aim, which was nothing less than the deliverance of their country from the grip of the foreigner, and how the Sikh cause, which was the country's cause, triumphed after a severe and patient struggle extending over a century and ultimately gave the Sikhs the sovereignty of the Panjab. The whole movement was gradual and at no stage was there any sudden or uncalled for departure from the original aim. The character thus developed was also not one-sided—peaceful and saintly turned into something 'worldly' or, as propagandists taking their cue from western writers call it, 'military'. But it was harmonious and many-sided—the result of a happy alternation of severe climates, fertile land and plenty of water, a due mixture of various races and their enriching cultures. It is true that the Sikhs have been very good fighters. But they have equally shone as farmers, carpenters, artisans, engineers, doctors, merchants, poets and painters. Common sense and hard thinking rather than mystical fervour or religious obscurantism has been their distinctive trait.

The material we have employed is taken mainly from original sources, and second-hand or later authorities are quoted only in support of earlier ones. For example, the Holy Granth as a source-book has been drawn upon more widely than ever before, and the implications of its texts are brought out more intimately than could be expected from those whose knowledge of Sikh scriptures is only second-hand.

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The main source-material used for the period of Sikh-Muslim clash is the Persian books many of which were evidently written to order by Muslim partisans with the object of showing up the liberators of the Panjab as mere marauders and incendiaries. Their fanaticism is clearly betrayed by their habitual use of still more disparaging and vituperative terms which, unfortunately, some of the Hindu writers, like Budh Singh, the author of *Haqiqat,* meekly echo. While these source-books are indispensable in the absence of any dispassionate or objective records, they need all the same to be used with discrimination.

The translators of these books into English still further distorted the truth. With a gross inexactitude, which appears almost purposeful at times, they twisted the text or interpolated passages in translation for which there was no authority in the original. Some of these errors we have pointed out in these pages. They require to be amended properly, or the whole work should be done over again by someone more dispassionate or better acquainted with the Persian texts.

Of the histories by Sikhs we have preferred the earlier versions, such as those by Kesar Singh and Rattan Singh, and have used Santokh Singh and Gyan Singh very sparingly. In the matters connected with Patiala, we have not ignored the very reliable material supplied by Sardar Karam Singh.

In dealing with the whole story of the Sikhs and their life-and-death struggle against social and political tyranny, we have put down nothing in over-praise or malice. We have tried to be just and impartial and leave the result to be judged by just and impartial readers.

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PART ONE

RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS

THE SIKH GURUS

'Sikh' (Sanskrit *shishya*) means a disciple; and his religion is best understood when it is regarded as a life, a discipline, and not as a system of philosophy. Sikh history reveals the gradual making and development of a nation in the hands of ten successive leaders, called *Gurus*. They had much in common with other contemporary reformers who were doing so much to purify religion and enrich vernacular literature; but these reformers appear to have been so impressed with the nothingness of this life that they deemed it unworthy of a thought to build up a new order of society. In the words of Joseph Cunningham, 'they aimed chiefly at emancipation from priestcraft, or from the grossness of idolatry and polytheism..... They perfected forms of dissent rather than planted germs of nations, and their *sects* remain to this day as they left them. It was reserved for Nanak to perceive the true principles of reform, and to lay those foundations which enabled his successor Gobind to fire the minds with a new nationality, and to give practical effect to the doctrine that the lowest is equal with the highest, in race as in creed, in political rights as in religious hopes.[1] It is the glory of Sikh history that the Gurus had in mind the duties of a nation as much as the duties of an individual.

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1. Some of the other features distinguishing Sikhism from the general Vaishnav movement prevailing in the country were : (a) A trenchant monotheism, with no trucking with the theory of God's incarnation; (b) non-vegetarianism; (c) interdining; and (d) no compromise with art-culture based on pre-Aryan myths or other superstitious practices through which the promoters of *bhakti* cult tried to approach the masses; e.g., dancing, painting, wood-carving and moulding. Only in music some adaptations were effected, as in the case of *Bārāmāha, Alāhnīān, Vār, Ghoriān*, etc. See also *Transformation of Sikhism*, by G. C. Narang, 32-35; and *Linguistic and Oriental Essays*, by R. N. Cust, 34-35.

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If studied from this point of view all apparent contradictions of Sikh history would vanish. There would seem to be no break, no digression in the programme of Sikh Life. It was like an organism experiencing change even while it performed its work, developing new organs and functions, because it was daily challenged to exercise new energies. Its principle of life remained the same, though it underwent a constant transfiguration (not 'transformation', as some writers have put it), assuming a great variety of forms, caused solely by local and occasional circumstances.

1. GURU NANAK (1469-1539)

The movement began with Guru Nanak, who was born on April 15,[1] 1469 (Vaisakh sudi 3, 1526 Bk.), in the Kshatrya clan at Talvandi Rai Bhoey, now called Nankana Sahib, about 40 miles to the south-west of Lahore. His father, Mehta Kalu, was a Patvari or village accountant to the Bhatti landlord named Rai Bular. At the age of seven Nanak was put to the village school under a Brahmin teacher from whom he learnt arithmetic and book-keeping, besides reading and writing in Devnagri. He soon exhausted the stock of learning that the village teacher possessed, and went to a local Maulvi[2] for the study of Persian and Islamic literature. When he grew up, he supplemented his knowledge by associating with the saints and hermits found in the neighbouring forest. He was deeply interested in Indian lore in general and in the writings of the contemporary bhagats in particular, whose teachings he compared with his own and criticised in passing. His scholarly attainments were considerable as shown by his erudite compositions like the *Japji, Āsā-di-Vār, Sidh Gōshṭ* and *Ōṁkār*. During his long tours he visited different centres of Hindu and Muslim faiths, and acquainted himself with their systems. He often referred to ancient

1. Some later biographies of Guru Nanak give Kartik Purnima, 1526 Bk, as the date of his birth: but the earliest biographies of the Guru and his successors, such as the *Purātan Janamsākhi*, the *Sākhī* prepared for Meharban, the *Janamsākhī* by Bhai Mani Singh, the *Mehmā Prakāsh*, etc., mention Vaisakh sudi 3, 1526 Bk. Even those books like *Nānak Prakāsh*, which support Kartik Purnima, give the age of the Guru at his death as 70 years, 5 months and 7 days, which worked back brings the date to Vaisakh Sudi 3, 1526 Bk.
2. The author of the *Sīyar-ul-Mutaakhirīn* says that Nānak studied Islamic literature from Syyad Hassan, a dervish.

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writers,[1] made apt use of classical stories,[2] and had philosophical discussions with learned Yogis, Pandits and Sūfis, whom he was always able to convince by his deep learning and hard common-sense. The architectural design of his compositions and his epigrammatic style, closely packed with reflective thought on great problems of life, bear ample witness to his being a scholarly writer.[3] From the beginning he had a protestant and critical frame of mind. At the age of nine, when he was asked to go through the ceremony of *Yajnopavitam*, he refused to wear the sacred thread, saying that he would rather have a thread that would 'neither break, nor get soiled, nor be burnt or lost' (*Vār Asā*, xv. 1).

His mind was so fixed on God that, for some time, he would do nothing but sing His praises and meditate on His Name. His father suspected that he must be suffering from some physical disease, and brought in a physician to treat him. Nanak laughed at this misconception and said :

'Physician, go the way;
My body groans, because my soul is crying;
It is not a case for thy medication.
The Creator alone who has given me this pain can remove it.'

His father was bent on putting him to some profession or trade, but all his attempts failed to take him out of his spiritualistic mood, which was growing intenser every day. He was sent to Chūharkāna, a neighbouring town, with some money to buy goods of common use and sell them at profit. He, however, spent the money in feeding

1. *See Āsā di Vār*, xiii. 1. 2; xiii. 2. 1; *Japji*, xxii. 2. 3; *Sri Rāg Ashtpadī*, vii, 6; *Gauri Guāreri*, xii. 1; *Basant Ashtpadi*, iii. 2.
2. See for example *Gauri Ashtpadi*, ix; *Vār Rāmkali*, xiv. 1; *Pārbhāti Ashtpadi*, iv.
3. His wisdom was practical, derived mainly from actual experience of life, as may be seen from his maxims found here and there in his writings; 'Sweetness and humility are the essence of all virtue.' 'Freedom of will forms our personality and leads us to action.' Egoism is a great disease, but its remedy also lies within itself.' God pervades all nature by an art that is artless' (*Vār Asā*). 'God's eye of mercy falls on those who take care of the lowly and the lost' (*Śri Rāg*). Nobody is without some worth' (*Rāmkalī*). 'Truth never gets old' (*Rāmkalī*). 'Truth is higher than everything, but higher still is true-living' (*Śri Rāg*). 'Death is the privilege of brave men, provided they die in an approved cause' (*Vadhans*) 'God is Truth, Beauty and eternal Yearning' (*Japji*). 'White things remain white, in spite of the night.' (*Vār Sūhi*).

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a party of holy men whom he met on his way to the market. He considered it a 'profitable business,' and returned home. The place is still called *Sachā Saudā* (or 'good bargain'). There are many stories of a similar nature designed to show Nanak's other-worldliness, but most of them seem to be only settings provided for the word-pictures drawn by him in his verses.

Mehta Kalu, not satisfied with his son's conduct, allowed him to be taken to Sultanpur, where Nanak's sister, Bibi Nanaki, was married. Her husband, Jai Ram, had some influence with the local Governor, Daulat Khan Lodhi, and secured a respectable post for Nanak whom he presented as an educated man. Nanak was put in charge of the state granary, where the corn collected as a part of the land revenue was stored and sold out to people. Nanak discharged his duties efficiently and removed the wrong impression which his previous conduct had given to his parents. He even married (he was eighteen then), and had two sons, Sri Chand and Lakhmi Das. But in spite of his good management of business his love for God was as intense as ever. When, in the course of weighing[1] out grain to customers, he came to the number 13, which is pronounced as *Tērā* and which also means 'thine', he would enter into a trance and go on repeating *Tērā Tērā* (Thine, Thine) until his attention was drawn back to the mathematical meaning of the word. At night he would sing the praises of God, in which Mardana, a Mohammedan drummer, would accompany him on his rebeck.

He takes up his mission : Early one morning as usual he went to bathe at the neighbouring river of Baeen. The scene so struck his poetic mind that he went into a trance and communed with the Spirit pervading the whole universe. He felt that he stood before the throne of the Almighty, and received from Him the message of his mission. When he reappeared after three days, he

1. The weights used by Guru Nanak are still preserved at the Gurdwara Hat Sahib. According to some writers the Guru was indiscriminately squandering the property of the Governor, and others who are more sympathetic, introduce miracles to show that in spite of his lavishness in charity the Guru's accounts showed a credit balance in his favour. The fact appears to be that the Guru received his salary in kind, and as he spent very little upon himself, he could easily afford to give away most of his share in charity and still remain in credit.

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was a changed man. He gave away all he had to the poor, and kept silent. Whenever he was urged to speak, he only said : 'There is no Hindu, no Mussalman.' It was a fit formula for the commencement of his mission, which was to reconcile the two warring communities of India into one brotherhood by showing them how they had fallen from their high ideals and had forgotten God their common Father.

His utterance created a stir in the town, and on a complaint made by the Qazi he was summoned before the Governor, who asked him to explain himself. In order to make himself clear, Nanak went with his critics to the mosque where the Qazi led the faithful in prayer. Nanak told the Qazi and the Governor that their prayers were not acceptable to God, because while they were mechanically repeating the prayer, their minds were wandering away from it. One was thinking of his new-born filly, and the other of purchasing horses in Kabul. Both were thus no good Mussalmans. Nanak sang his own hymns,[1] in which he showed what was expected of a true Muslim. All who heard him said, 'God speaks through the mouth of Nanak.'

This was a turning point in the life of Nanak. He left the service of Daulat Khan, and entered on his mission as a teacher of the world. This took place in 1496, when he was 27 years old. He took Bhai Mardana, his rebeck-player and devoted follower,[2] with him. He was very fond of music, and most of his messages were sung to his audiences to the accompaniment of six-stringed rebeck, called *rabāb,* which was his own invention.[3] First he spent some time in the Panjab, converting Hindus and Muslims to his views and establishing *Manjis* or missionary centres wherever he went. At Saidpur (now called Eminabad) he put up at the house of a carpenter, named *Lālā.* This strange combination of a so-called Khatri saint with a low-caste Mohammedan minstrel, living and dining with a Hindu Sudra, became the subject of common talk. Mere gossip turned into severe criticism when Guru Nanak refused to participate in the grand feast given by Malik Bhago, a Hindu

1. These hymns are quoted in Macauliffe, Vol. I, pp. 38-39.
2. Forster's *Travels,* I. 256; Bhai Gurdas, *Vār* xi.
3. See *Sarmāyā-i-Ishrat,* by Sadiq Ali Khan. The same book ascribes the invention of *Sarandā,* another stringed instrument, to Guru Amar Das.

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official of the local Pathan Faujdar. The Guru was called by the Malik who remonstrated with him for perferring to dine with a low-caste carpenter and refusing to accept the invitation of a high-caste man like himself. The Guru called for a dish from the sumptuous feast of the Malik and also a piece of coarse bread from the house of his poor host. Holding the two in his hands he said that he saw wholesome milk issuing from the honestly-earned bread of Lalo and red blood of torturned humanity trickling from the rich dainties of Malik Bhago. 'I recognise no caste,' he said. 'There is only one brotherhood, that of humanity; and only one pollution, that of separateness.' Lalo was appointed to the first *Manji,* which was to spread Sikhism in the northern Punjab.

He next visited Tulamba, near Multan, where he reclaimed a professional Thug, Sajjan by name. To all appearances he was a holy man, calling himself a Sheikh and maintaining a temple for the Hindus and a mosque for the Mussalmans. He provided food and lodging for travellers, and practised Thuggee under the guise of saintliness. He fell upon his unsuspecting guests at night, and relieving them of their valuables would throw them into a secret well. He intended to play the same trick on Guru Nanak and his companion. But the Guru proved a hard pigeon to pluck. Before retiring for the night he sang a hymn[1] specially designed to deal with a case like that of Sajjan. The heart-searching verses of the Guru struck the tender chords of Sajjan's otherwise stony heart, and he was converted. The criminal's den became a temple for God's worship. It was the first Dharamsala or Sikh Gurdwara established by the Guru with Sajjan as a missionary to preach his Master's gospel in the south and west.

His Udāsīs or Tours : After this Guru Nanak proceeded on his long tours, called *Udāsis* (odyssies). The first tour was towards the east, which included his visits to the important centres of the Hindu religion. To avail himself of the opportunities of contacting large multitudes of people, he attended holy places on festive occasions. His method of approach was dramatic rather than discussional. He wore a strange motley dress,[2] consisting of a long

1. See Macauliffe, Vol. I, p. 146.
2. *Purātan Janamsākhi,* p. 43.

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ochre-coloured gown, with a white waist-band, a conicol cap on his head, a garland of bones round his neck, a pair of shoes of different designs on his feet, and a saffron mark on his forehead. With such a dress there was no need for him to advertise his arrival.

At Kurkshetra, during a solar eclipse, he began to cook venison which a disciple had presented to him. This horrified the priests and the pilgrims, who rushed towards him to give him a thrashing. But he kept his presence of mind and sand hymns,[1] in which he reminded his audience that their ancestors used to kill animals and offered them to gods, and that they could not avoid the use of flesh, as long as they used water, which was the source of all life.

Passing through Panipat and Delhi, he proceeded in a northeasterly direction and arrived at Hardwar, where a large number of Hindus had assembled to wash away their sins by a dip in the sacred waters of the Ganges. While standing in the river they were throwing handfuls of water towards the rising sun as oblations to their departed ancestors. The Guru stood among them and began to throw water towards the west. This brought about him a crowd of pilgrims who questioned him as to what he was doing. He replied that he was watering his newly-sown fields in the Panjab. They laughed at him and said, 'How can your handfuls of water reach your fields which are over two hundred miles away?' The Guru replied, 'If my water cannot reach my land which is only a few hundred miles on this very planet, how could *your* water reach your ancestors in the world beyond?'

From there Guru Nanak went to Benares, where he had long talks with the leading Pandit, Chatur Das, on the question of idol-worship and symbolism.[2] Most of these talks were versified in a hymn called Onkār. The Pandit was made to realise that God resided in every human heart, and could be adored in the form of the Holy Name. Chatur Das along with many others became a Sikh, and as a missionary did much to spread Sikhism in the locality. The place is now marked with a Gurdwara called Guru-ka-Bagh. The Guru passed through Gaya, and then through Patna where he converted a jeweller, named Salis Rai, whom he appointed his missionary and

1. See Macauliffe, Vol. I, pp. 48-49.
2. See Macauliffe, Vol. I, p. 61.

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gave a *manji*.[1] Then he reached Kāmrūp (Assam), where certain women tried to tempt him with their beauty, wealth and magic. He was able, however, to convince them that beauty was not for sensuous enjoyment but for attracting conjugal love, and true wealth and charm lay in storing excellences in one's character.

During these travels Guru Nanak and Mardana entered a village where they were not well received. The Guru blessed the people, saying, 'May your village flourish !' Next they came to another village where they were welcomed warmly. When departing the Guru said, 'May the populace be scattered !' Mardana was astonished at the apparent injustice of the remarks, and asked his Master what he meant. The latter replied, 'The churlish inhabitants of the former village would carry with them their evil influence wherever they went. They should therefore remain where they are. The inhabitants of the other village, on the other hand, if scattered, would spread their virtue abroad.'

From Assam and Dacca[2] the Guru returned by the Twenty four Pargnas, and going along the coast he came to Cuttock where a Gurdwara, named Dātan Sahib,[3] commemorates his visit. At Puri he visited the famous temple of Jagannath, where *ārti* was being performed before the image. The Guru did not join the service, and on being asked the reason sang a hymn of his own,[4] in which he told the hearers that a wonderful serenade was being sung by Nature before the invisible altar of God. The sun and the moon were lamps, placed in the salver of the firmament, and the fragrance wafted from the Malayan mountains were serving as incense. There was no need of offering artificial worship to Him. The Guru then returned to the Panjab, passing through Central India and preaching his humanising gospel to the aboriginies, who were living the life of cannibalism.

He spent some time in the Panjab. Crossing the Ravi he

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1. *Nānak Prakāsh*, pūrbārdh, ch. 51.
2. Out in the waste near Jāfarabad there is a well and ruins of a Sikh temple, which mark the place visited by Guru Nanak. See *Sikh Review*, July, 1915.
3. This is the place where the Guru threw a green tooth-stick (dātan), which in the course of centuries has grown into a big tree.
4. Macauliffe. Vol. I, pp. 82-83.

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proceeded to Pak Pattan, which was a centre of Sufi fakirs, and met Sheikh Ibrahim, popularly called Sheikh Brahm, a descendent of the famous Farid. He came away along the river Satluj, and passing through Dipalpur, Kanganpur, Kasur, Patti, Sultanpur, Vairoval, Jalalabad, etc., he stopped for some time at Kiri Pathanan, where he made many converts from Mohammedans. At Lahore he was invited by a millionaire Khatri, named Duni Chand, to a rich banquet given by him on the occasion of his father's *sharādh* ceremony. He humorously exposed the futility of this ceremony by asking, 'What if your father's soul has gone into the body of a wolf? How would he appreciate your pudding and cakes?'

The Guru now thought of going on another long journey outside the Panjab, but before going he wanted to provide a home for his family which was putting up at Pakhoke, with his father-in-law. Just opposite this place, on the right bank of the Ravi, he founded a new town on a piece of land offered by a disciple named Karori of Lahore. The place was called Kartarpur or the Creator's City.

Guru Nanak's second tour was to the South, with Saido and Gheo—two Jats—as his companions. This itinerary is marked by a long line of Gurdwaras dotting the whole length of the peninsula down to Ceylon.[1] His doctrine had already been introduced to Raja Shivnabh of Jaffna in Ceylon by a Sikh merchant named Mansukh, and the Raja was anxious to see the Guru himself. In due time Guru Nanak paid him a visit, and left a big congregation of converts with him. He returned by the western coast to the Punjab.

The indefatiguable Guru next turned his attention to the North, which was the home of Yogis. Wearing a strange dress, mainly

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1. In spite of Dr. Trumpp's scepticism about the visit of Guru Nanak to the South, the fact is well-established by the discovery of a manuscript (of Akbar's time) laying down the itinerary of a pilgrim to the Sikh temples in Southern India and Ceylon. See *Haqiqat Rāh Muqām*, appended to a MS copy of the Holy Granth found by Henry Erskine in the battle-field of Gujrat, 1849, and now preserved in the British Museum, under or, 1125. See also *Glossary of Panjab Tribes and Castes*, I. 687.

   Sikh temples still exist at Rameshwar, Salur, Bhaker and Shivkanji in Madras, and at Colombo in Ceylon. Old temples, with MS copies of the Holy Granth in some of them, are still found at Burhanpur, Surat, Bombay (Mahalakshmi, Grant Road), Amraoti, and Nirmal (in the Nizam's Dominions).

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composed of skins, he travelled with Hassu, a blacksmith, and Sihan, a washerman. Traversing the sub-montane tracts of the Lower Himalayas and visiting many places he came to Gorakhmata, where he met Yogis of the Gorakh order. He criticised before them the hollowness of wearing forms without leading a pure and spiritual life:

> Religion does not consist in a patched coat, a yogi's staff, or in ashes smeared on the body.
> Religion does not consist in mere words;
> He who looks on all men as equals is religious.
> Religion does not consist in wandering to tombs or places of cremation or sitting in postures of contemplation.
> It does not consist in wandering to foreign lands or in bathing at sacred places.
> Abide pure amid the impurities of the world, thus shalt thou find the way of religion—*Sūhī*

After some further discussions the Yogis were completely vanquished, and the place became a centre of Sikh mission, with Nanakmata as its name.[1]

Thence the Guru went further north into the Himalayas,[2] and crossing Nepal and some portion of the western Tibet he came to the much-talked-of Kailash Mountain and the Mansrovar Lake, where he met Yogi hermits[3] living in caves. They were astonished to find him there, and asked him how things were going on in the plains below. He replied, "The darkness of Falsehood prevails throughout; the moon of Truth is invisible. I have set out in search of it. The earth is groaning under the load of Sin. The Yogis have

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1. After Guru Nanak the place remained out of touch with the Panjab, and in the course of time the Yogis began to give trouble to the Sikh custodians of the temple. Guru Hargobind had to go personally there to reclaim the place from the Yogi usurpers.
2. Traces of the Guru's visit to these high regions have been found by many travellers. See the *Divine Master*, by Sewaram Singh, pp. 139-141; and *Nanak Prakash*, iii. 691-692.
3. The Guru is said to have met Gorakhnath, Machhindarnath (Matsyandranath), etc., the renowned Yogi leaders. But these saints existed much earlier, before the 12th century A. D. (See *Goraknath and Kanphata Yogis* by George W. Briggs, ch. xi.) So the Guru must have seen some later Yogis bearing the same names, which are so common among them.

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retired to the mountains, and knowing nothing better are busy in rubbing ashes on their bodies. Who should save the world? Without a true Guru, it is sunk in ignorance.'[1] He tried to convince them that they could help the world better by living in it and by entering into social relationships, and that instead of wearing empty forms and doing hard penances they should exert themselves in the service of mankind. Their love of miracles he described as 'an irrelevant taste' (*Japji,* xxix), having no connection with religion. When asked to perform a miracle, he said, 'I rely on nothing but the Sacred Word and the Holy Fellowship.'[2] The talks he had with the Siddhas or Master Yogis there, and later on at Achal Batala, were versified by him in his *Sidh Gosht.* Guru Nanak came back through Ladakh, Srinagar, Jammu and Sialkot.

The fourth itinerary of Guru Nanak was to the West. He was accompanied by Mardana. He travelled by sea, and visited Mecca, carrying a prayer-carpet under one arm, a book under the other, and holding in his hands an ablusion-pot and a pilgrim's staff—to complete the picture of a regular Hāji. On the way, wherever he met children, he would join them in their sports and share their jovialities. On his arrival in the holy city, being weary and foot-sore, he quietly lay down in the mosque and fell asleep, with his feet stretched towards the Kaaba. This very much annoyed the people, and they remonstrated with him. One of them kicked him, saying, 'Who are you? Why should you be so rude as to turn your feet towards the House of God?' The Guru replied, 'Pray be not so furious. Turn my feet in a direction where God is not.' The people saw reason in his statement, for their Prophet himself had said in the Quran : Allah is the east and the west, So whithersoever ye turn, there is the face of Allah' (ch. ii., verse 116). They questioned him whether he was a Muslim or a Hindu. He said, 'I am neither of the two. I'm only a plaything made of five elements.' Next they asked as to who was superior of the two. 'Neither as such,' said he,

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1. Bhai Gurdas, Var i. 29.
2. Bhai Gurdas. Var i. 42. It is strange that I. Banerjee in his *The Evolution of the Khalsa,* I. 90 f. n. 3, should deny the existence of this line, which reads as : *'Gur-sangat Bāni binā dūji ót nahin hai rāi.'* This comes of handling texts through second-hand agencies.

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'would be acceptable to God. Both would suffer if they had no good actions to recommend them.'

On his return journey he stopped at Baghdad. There a platform is shown to mark the place where he had sat while talking to Shah Bahlol, a local fakir. The following inscription[1] is found on the wall behind the platform:

گورو مراد ایلدی حضرت رب المجید بابا نانک فقیر
اور ناگہ عمارت جدید بدید امداد ایدوب کلدی کرتاریخنہ
یاپدی ثواب اجرائیدہ انی مرید سعید ۹۲۷ سنہ ھ

Its rendering[2] would be : 'In memory of the Guru, that is the Divine Master Baba Nanak Fakir Aulia, this building has been raised anew, with the help of Seven Saints; and the chronogram reads : 'The blessed disciple has produced a spring of grace—year 927 H."

The date of the inscription places the Guru's sojourn at Baghdad in the Year 927 H., which corresponds to 1520—21 A. D. The Guru returned to India soon after, and on his way visited Vali Qandhari at Hassan Abdal, now called Panja Sahib. Babar at this time invaded the Panjab for the third time. This invasion, according to Guru Nanak's[3] own words, took place in 1578 B. K., i.e. 1521

1. See the *Gurdwara Reform Movement*, pp. 1-2 f. n. Swami Anandacharya in his *Snow Birds* records another inscription in Arabic found by him at Baghdad. It reads : 'Here spake the Hindu Guru Nanak to Fakir Bahlol, and for these sixty winters, since the Guru left Iran, the soul of Bahlol has rested on the Master's Word, like a bee poised on a dawn-lit honey-rose.'
2. The translation given in Banerjee's *The Evolution of the Khalsa* is obviously wrong, being due to an attempt to prove that the Guru was a disciple of a Muslim fakir. The Guru may have been influenced by many Muslim and Hindu fakirs, but, as he himself says, his Guru was God Himself. See *Sórath*, xi; Bhai Gurdas, *Vār* xiii. 25. It was not the habit of the Gurus to hide the name of their spiritual guide : 'He who does not acknowledge his Guru is base' (*Vār Gauri* of the Fourth Guru). See Macauliffe, II. 302.
3. Referring to the coming of the Mughals, he says in *Rāg Tilang* : 'They come in '78 and shall depart in '97, and then shall arise another brave man.' The latter date refers to the departure of Humayun from India in 1540 A. D., and the 'brave man is understood to be Sher Shāh Suri, who dispossessed him, and who, as a king, in his impartiality, was very much after the heart of Guru Nanak.

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A.D. The Guru was an eye-witness to the sack of Saidpur and the wholesale massacre of its inhabitants. According to the Memoirs of Babar 'the inhabitants of Saidpur, who resisted, were put to the sword, their wives and children were carried into captivity, and all their property plundered.'[1] On this occasion the Guru uttered some of the most touching verses, which he calls 'hymns of blood' :

God took Khurasan under His wing, and exposed India to the terrorism of Babar.
The Creator takes no blame to Himself; it was Death disguised as a Mughal that made war on us.
When there was such slaughter, such groaning, didst Thou not feel pain? Creator, Thou belongest to all.
If a powerful party beat another powerful party, it is no matter for anger;
But if a ravenous lion fall upon a herd of cows, then the master of the herd should show his manliness.[2]

It is said that Guru Nanak was so much affected by the sight of suffering that he fell down in anguish, and went into a trance. What would he not have done, this master of the herd, had he been in the position of Guru Gobind Singh? He could then only utter a cry and wish that the cows should become lions, but what would he not have done, if he had a nation at his back? Alas ! He had no nation at his back. He and his successors had yet to create it. Still he had not sit down in impotent rage and utter idle jeremiads. He did as much as was possible to do in the circumstances.

Estimate of his Work : It is usual to say that Guru Nanak was a man of devotion and peace, and did not think of the worldly needs of his people. This is entirely a wrong notion. The Guru did think of the social and political disabilities of his people; otherwise he would not have said :

Sin is the king, Greed the minister, Falsehood the mint-master,
And lust the deputy to take counsel with; they sit and confer together.
The blind subjects, out of ignorance, pay homage like dead men.

(*Asā-di-Vār*, xvi)

He rebuked 'the masters of the herd', the Lodhi Pathans, for

1. Leyden and Erskine's translation (O. U. P., 1921), II. 149.
2. *Rāg Asā*. See other hymns composed on the same occasion in Macauliffe, I. 112-115; also the *Growth of Responsibility in Sikhism*, 2-3

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not putting up a stiff fight for India, and allowing such a precious gem to be snatched away easily by the foreigner. To quote his own words :

> The dogs of Lodhis have thrown away the priceless inheritance; when they are dead, no one will remember them with regard.
>
> (*Āsā*)

He complained that the people were so cowed down in spirit that 'they mimicked the Mohammedan manners', 'ate meat prepared in the Mohammedan fashion', and 'wore blue dress in order to please the ruling class' *(Vār Asā)*. 'In every home people called themselves by foreign names. Even their language had changed.' *(Basant)*

Looking at the helplessness of his countrymen, he discovered that moral degradation was at the root of it all. When asked by his companion, Mardana, why such a suffering had come to the people during the foreign invasion, he replied : 'It is ordained by the Creator that before coming to a fall one is deprived of one's virtue' (*Āsā*). He felt sure that, as long as men were steeped in ignorance and corruption, nothing could be done for them. He freed them from the bondage of so many gods and goddesses, and led them to accept one Supreme Being as the creator and sustainer of all, no matter by what name they called Him. He could not be worshipped in the form of an image; the devotee was to practise His presence by dwelling on His Name. There were no incarnations, no special revelations. Man was the highest manifestation of God, who spoke more frequently through the heart of man than through scriptures. With the uplift of man, woman also received her due. She was declared not only not inferior to man but as having an equal responsibility for her actions before God (*Vār Asā.* xix). To give a practical shape to the idea of equality, the Guru instituted the custom of interdining in a common mess attached to every place of worship. No devotion or programme of life was genuine which did not lead to the love of mankind, which in practice must mean social service. He laid down very simple rules of conduct, which did not forge any new shackles in place of the old ones, and left the people to work out their social conscience themselves :

> Put away the custom that makes you forget the Loved One (*Wadhans*).
> My friend, the enjoyment of that food is evil.

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Which gives pain to the body and evil thoughts to the mind.

(Sri Rāg).

By adopting the vernacular[1] of the country for religious purposes he, in a way, roused the national sentiment of the people. It was strengthened by the community of thought and ideal, daily realised in the congregational singing of the same religious hymns. It also improved the understanding of the people. The high truths conveyed to them in their own tongue made them conscious of new powers of thought in themselves. To this was added the illumination of intellect which comes with the sincerity and enthusiasm of a newly-found faith.

In order to work out his ideas in practice, Guru Nanak set a personal example of pure life lived in the midst of the world. In his youth he was a store-keeper under the government, a good householder and a loving brother. In old age, after several years spent in travelling and preaching, he settled down at Kartarpur as a farmer.

He had done all this, but much had still to be done before a people morally and physically degraded could lift up their heads and come into their own again. The religion he had founded was not to remain content with the salvation of a few individuals. It had far nobler potentialities in it. It was to organise itself as a world-force, and evolve a living and energetic society for the uplift of mankind. That the Guru was not a mere reformer but the founder[2] of a new religion is clear from the fact that he travelled abroad to non-Hindu

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1. It is wrong to say, as a writer has done in the *Modern Review* of July 1944, p. 62, that the use of vernacular restricted the spread of Sikhism to the Panjab. In fact, Panjabi is not the only vernacular used in the writings of the Gurus, but Hindi is used much more frequently, and that was understood all over Northern and Central India. Besides, Sikhism spread much beyond the Panjab, as is evident from the names of Sikhs and their localities mentioned in the 11th *Vār* of Bhai Gurdas, the letters of the 9th and 10th Gurus, and the traces of Sangats found in the east and the south. If, later on, its scope was restricted, it was due to political struggles engaging the attention of the Sikhs and confining their activities to the homeland.
2. 'Nanak founded a pure religion, and struck his coin in the world.' (Bhai Gurdās, *Vār* i 45). See also Qazi Nur Mohammad's *Jangnāmā*, p. 159, and Payne's *Short History of the Sikhs*, p. 25.

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countries, established Sangats[1] or Sikh organizations in different centres under the charge of Manji-holders, and took special care to test and appoint a successor[2] who should continue his work after him:

He tested his Sikhs and his sons, and his followers saw what the had done.

It was when Lehna was tested and purified that Guru Nanak consecrated him.[3]

He took him to his seat and calling him *Angad*, the flesh of his flesh and the bone of his bone, saluted him as his successor. He died soon after, on September 22, 1539.

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1. See *Siyarul-Mutaakhirin*. p. 401; also Bhai Gurdas, *Vār* i. 27, line 4.
2. 'Nanak is, by the way, the most conspicuous, if not the only, Indian reformer who made definite arrangements for successors whose primary responsibility was the preservation and the spread of his own message.—*The Sikhs*, by J. C. Archer.
3. *Vār Ramkalī*, by Satta and Balvand. A similar test was applied by the 2nd Guru in selecting his successor, Guru Ram Das says in *Vār Bilavāl*: 'Marking to whom the signs from on high pointed, Guru Angad entrusted the great position of Guruship to Amar Das. He had tested his own and his brother's sons, his sons-in-law, his relatives and other people round-about, and disillusioned them of their own importance. The 3rd Guru also rejected his sons and, while yet alive, consecrated Ram Das as his successor, not because he was his son-in-law, but because through constant service and general ability he had proved himself to be the only fit person to be appointed. By the time of the 4th Guru the lesson had been brought home to the Guru's sons that merit alone would count, and therefore after that they tried to qualify themselves for the onerous duties. One thing to be remembered is that the test was applied to the Sikhs and sons alike, Why should the sons have been excluded from the test ? And if they were included and were found successful, how could they be rejected? Bhai Gurdas, even as late as the time of the 6th Guru, notes the distinction between the practice of kings and the Sikh Gurus in the appointment of successors. While in the one case succession was regulated by the rule of primogeniture, in the other only fitness counted (*Vār* xxvi. 31). To promote this fitness it was found necessary the experience that the choice of the successor should not be postponed to the very end of a Guru's life, but should be made sufficiently early, so that the candidate might receive. some training to prove his fitness. The choice was always happy. Even Guru Harkishan was very promising. It was not the fault of the chooser if the young Guru died early. 'Even this child of eight made the best choice, passing over his own brother and uncle.' (*Narang*, p. 119, fn. 1).

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Yet a little, ere it fled,
Did he resign his high and holy soul
To images of the majestic past,
That paused within his passive being now.

As he lay on his death-bed at Kartarpur, the different scenes of Talvandi in the *Bār,* his homeland, came up before his mind's eye one after another, and reminded him of his early surroundings. 'Ah,' said he in the last piece[1] ever written by him, 'now the *Van* tree must be flowering in the *Bār*', 'the tall grasses are also in bloom', and 'the beetle is rattling away in the lonely jungle'. Guru Nanak belonged to the whole world, but he also belonged to the Punjab, particularly to that part of it which is called the *Bār.*

2. GURU ANGAD (1504-1552)

Guru Angad continued his work for about thirteen years. Born on March 31, 1504, he was the son of Pheru, a petty trader living in the village of Matte-di-Sarai, in the present district of Ferozepore. The family, on account of poverty, shifted to Hari-ke and then to Khadur, which is near the important town of Tarn Taran. There at the age of 15 he was married to Khivi, a native of the place. By her he had two sons and two daughters. Lehna was a devout worshipper of the goddess Durga, and used to lead every year a party of pilgrims to Javalamukhi, a place sacred to the goddess in the lower Himalayas, where fire issues from the mountain. He was introduced to the hymns of Guru Nanak by a Sikh named Jodha, and once while proceeding to Javalamukhi he broke his journey at Kartarpur and saw the Guru. He was so impressed by Guru Nanak's personality and the beauty of his teachings that he gave up the worship of the goddess and became a follower of the Guru. He served his Master with great devotion, and after a series of tests was appointed Guru.

He spent some time in retirement outside Khadur. At the request, however, of some leading Sikhs, like Bhai Budha, he came forward to give active lead to his people. He held regular meetings of Sikhs and explained to them the mission of Guru Nanak. He also continued the practice of maintaining the common kitchen which, presided over by his wife Khivi, 'supplied delicious dishes like rice

1. *Tukhāri Chhant.*

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boiled in milk and ghee' *(Vār Sattā,* iii*)*, but he himself lived on coarse food earned by him by twisting strings of *munj*. He was very fond of seeing children at play, and occasionally wrestling matches of young men at a place now called the *Mal Akhārā*. From the games he drew lessons for his congregations.

His chief quality, as a disciple, had been implicit obedience, and the same quality he imparted to his own followers. His writings, which are scanty as compared with those of the other Gurus, are variations on the same theme. Satta and Balvand,[1] the musicians who used to sing daily before the assembly of Sikhs, were taught obedience when they became proud and struck work. Amar Das himself, when he had yet to learn his true role, had constantly to be on the watch in order not to forget this lesson. A hypocritical monk, called the Tapa of Khadur, was severely punished by the villagers for his cruelty to the Guru; and Amar Das, forgetting the orders of his Master, had countenanced the violence of the villagers. Guru Angad felt much grieved at this, and said, 'Thou canst not endure things difficult to endure. What thou didst, thou didst to please the rabble. Thou shouldst have endurance like the earth, steadfastness in woe and wear like a mountain; thou shouldst bear pardon in thy heart and do good to everyone, irrespective of his actions.'

The chief contribution made by him to the development of the Sikh movement was that he gave definiteness and distinction to the general ideals laid down by Guru Nanak. He took the sayings of his Master, and got them recorded in a special script called *Gurmukhi*.[2]

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1. One of them, Satta, lived up to the time of Guru Hargobind. They composed verses in honour of each Guru at the time of his accession. 'These verses are preserved in the Coronation Ode called *Vār Satta Balvand* in the Holy Granth. In a manuscript copy of the Holy Granth, kept at the Dharamsala of Buta Singh in Rawalpindi, there are two passages in praise of Guru Hargobind also. That the story belongs to the time of Guru Angad is clear from the internal evidence of the Ode. It contains eight passages, out of which as many as five are in praise of Guru Angad; and the self condemnation and penitence is expressed by the bards in the passage (5th) addressed to that Guru.
2. This alphabet is generally supposed to have been invented by Guru Angad, but the fact that at the time of his accession Bhai Paira Mokha of Sultanpur was asked to transcribe the horoscope of Guru Nanak from Shastri (Devanagri) letters into Gurmukhi shows that these letters existed before Guru Angad.

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Thus a nucleus of the Sikh Scripture began to be formed, giving a definite direction to the faith of the disciples. It reminded those who employed it of their duty towards their Guru, and constantly kept alive in their minds the consciousness that they were something distinct from the common mass of Hindus'.[1] It also dealt a powerful blow to the domination of the priestly class, whose importance rested on their knowledge of Sanskrit which had so far been the language of religion. The effect felt in a generation or two was, as Mohsin Fani in his *Dabistan* (p. 233) tells us, that 'the disciples of Nanak...do not read the mantras of Hindus. They do not venerate their temples of idols, nor do they esteem their Avtars. They have no regard for the Sanskrit language, which according to the Hindus is the speech of gods.

Guru Angad, like his predecessor, subjected his sons and Sikhs to severe tests before choosing his successor, and found in Amar Das the fittest person to take his place. He died at the age of 48, on March 29, 1552.

3. GURU AMAR DAS (1479-1574)

Amar Das, the most long-lived Guru, was only ten years younger than Guru Nanak. He was born on May 5, 1479, at Basarke in the present district of Amritsar. He lived by agriculture and trade. At the age of 24 he was married and had two sons, Mohan and Mohri, and two daughters, Dani and Bhani. He was a staunch Vaishnavite, and used to pay annual visits to the Ganges. He also practised severe austerities to subdue his mind. When returning from the twentieth visit he was told by a monk that he could have no hope for spiritual bliss unless he had a Guru. This kindled a new desire in

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Guru Nanak's composition called *Āsā Pattī* contains exactly 35 letters, including the latter *ṛ* which is peculiar to Gurmukhi. There were at that time three kinds of alphabet current in the Panjab: *Shārda* (in Kashmir), *Thākri* (in the eastern hills), and *Bhatakshri* (in the plains). A modified form of *Bhatakshri* was adopted by Guru Nanak, and was popularised among Sikhs by Guru Angad as *Gurmukhi*, because it was used in recording the words fallen *from the mouth of his Guru. Mirat-ul-Ahwāl-i-Jahān-numa*, by Ahmad Bin Mohammad Ali (1810), says that Gurmukhi was invented by Guru Nanak. Forster in his *Journey* (i. 257) says the same thing.

1. Narang's *Transformation of Sikhism*, p. 48.

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his reflective mind, which found satisfaction in his own brother's house. One morning his ears caught sweet strains of music coming from there. Hymns of Guru Nanak were being sung by the daughter of Guru Angad, Bibi Amro, who was married to his brother's son. He asked her to take him to her father, which she did, and he became devotedly attached to Guru Angad. The Guru removed his Vaishnavite prejudice against the use of meat, and enlightened him on the futility of austerities without a real change in life. The best austerity, he was told, was to exert himself in the service of humanity. He began to fetch water and fuel for the common kitchen. In spite of his old age and the very close and delicate relationship with the Guru, he took upon himself to perform the humblest kind of work for the Guru and his Sikhs. He would daily bring water from the river Beas, over three miles distant, for the morning bath of the Guru. His devotion, service and ability fitted him for the important duties of leading the Sikh church; and in spite of the strenuous opposition of the Guru's sons, he was appointed to the high office.

He had to contend with several difficulties in the beginning. To disarm the hostility of Datu, the eldest son of Guru Angad, he took up his residence at Goindval, in the founding of which he had a hand himself. But there too he was pursued, and he went away, for a time, to Basarke, his native village. He was persuaded, however, by prominent Sikhs like Bhai Budha to return to Goindval and resume his work.

Baba Sri Chand, the eldest son of Guru Nanak, with a small following of Udasis, was still alive. Like a true recluse he offered no opposition to his father's successors, but his great personality and the general tendency among people to put a premium on celibacy and asceticism was attracting people to him; and it was imperative that the Sikhs should be given a definite lead in the matter. Guru Amar Das told his Sikhs to reject the path of renunciation, and to consider the life of a householder as the only way approved for practising religion. He also impressed the necessity of believing; in 'one Guru, one Word, and only one Interpretation' *(Vār Sōrath).* 'There is no Guru', he said, 'except the consecrated Guru; and it is disreputable not to acknowledge him' *(Āsā Patti).* The acrimonious opposition of a local Tapa or monk was similarly disposed of. These

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opportune steps[1] saved the Sikh Church from disintegration and prevented the Sikhs from going the way of the followers of Kabir and other medieval saints.

In dealing with his opponents the Guru showed great forbearance. When Datu, Guru Angad's son, attacked him at Goindval, and kicked him off his seat, his only reply was, 'O honoured sir, pardon me, my old bones must have hurt your tender foot.' The Muslim residents of Goindval often annoyed the Sikhs. When the latter went to fetch water from a well the Muslims would throw stones to break their pitchers. The Sikhs complained to the Guru, but he refused to allow them to retaliate. At that time patience was the rule. The Guru once said to a village headman, 'God is patient, and patience He rewardeth. If anyone ill-treat you, bear it. If you bear it three times, God Himself will fight for you the fourth time, and extirpate your enemies.'[2]

This, however, should not be taken to mean that the Guru could be easily led to deviate from his principles; for, as the bard Satta sang of him, 'he was firm as the mountain of Meru, and was not swayed by the gusts of wind.' It is wrong therefore to say, as Macauliffe and others have said, that the Guru to please his Hindu detractors was prevailed on by Akbar to go on pilgrimage to the Jamuna and the Ganges. The real fact, as recorded by his successor in the Holy Granth, is that 'the Guru undertook the journey to the sacred places *for the sake of saving all people.*'[3] He did not perform the customary rites. The exemption of the Guru and his followers from the payment of the pilgrims tax also shows that the Sikhs were treated as distinct from the mass of Hindu pilgrims.

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1. Malcolm's *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 27. In the volume mentioned in the foot note 2 on p. 30, there is a prose passage on p. 83, reporting instructions of Guru Amar Das to his Sikhs, who are told that 'if a Sikh becomes an *Udasi* or ascetic he will be accursed. See for the story of the Tapa *Gauri-ki-Var*, xxx and Macauliffe, II, 98-100.
2. Macauliffe, II. 70.
3. *Tukhāri, Chhant* ii, *Mahimā Prakāsh* (in prose) does not mention any persuation on the part of Akbar. *Sūrāj Prakash* does mention it, but in it Akbar is said to have asked the Guru to pay the visit as a concession to the *folly* of his detractors, and also because 'the visit by him would *sanctify* the tiraths' (Rās i, ch. 44).

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The Guru's simple and devotional life attracted large numbers from far and near. Beside Hindus, some very notable Mohammedans[1] joined his faith, and Goindval developed into a big religious centre. A *bāoli* (or well) with 84 steps was constructed in 1559 for the use of visitors. It is related that Emperor Akbar, during one of his tours in the Panjab, saw the Guru at Goindval and offered to make a grant for the maintenance of the *Langar* or the common kitchen, but the Guru refused the offer.

The Guru's *langar* was becoming a great institution. The Guru himself lived on very simple food purchased with his own scanty earnings, but his public kitchen 'was daily supplied with butter refined flour and sugar' *(Vār Sattā)*. Whatever was daily received was daily spent, and nothing was left over for the morrow. Every visitor, whether Hindu or Muslim, was asked to partake of food in the same mess before he could see the Guru. Even Akbar and the Raja of Haripur had to do the same. All had to sit in a line and eat together.[2] No distinction of caste or creed, high or low, was made. Guru Amar Das says, that even if he were a most learned Pandit, 'he would take care to remember that nothing is polluted in the mess. All outlined dining-squares are false. Only God is pure' *(Marú-ki-Vār)*. In this way, the people were made to renounce their social prejudices and to look upon one another as brothers.

He impressed upon his followers the true value and sanctity of human life. 'All mankind that you see created is the image of God' *(Anand)*. 'We may take human body to be the temple, nay, the fort of God' *(Vār Rāmkali)*. When questioned once by his Sikhs as to why he had hastily ridden past a crumbling wall, he had replied that he wanted to teach his disciples that it was their sacred duty to preserve the body up to the last. It was a precious trust of God, to be kept pure and strong by temperance. "Try your best,' he said, 'not to drink wine at all' *(Bihāgra)*. His prohibition of Sattee may be understood to have been ordered from the same humane point of view *(Vār Suhi)*. He was also against the observance of Purda by women.[3]

1. Macauliffe, II, 66, 77-78.
2. *Sūraj Prakāsh*, Ras i, ch. 30.
3. Macauliffe, II. 61-62.

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The number of Sikhs having increased considerably, it was felt necessary by the Guru to organise the scattered Sangats or congregations into a system. Taking his cue evidently from the division of Akbar's empire, he partitioned his whole spiritual domain into 22 provinces, called *Manjis*, each *Manji* being under the charge of a devoted Sikh whose business it was to preach the mission of the Guru and to keep the local body in touch with the centre.

He had got the sayings of his predecessors and some Bhagats from Guru Angad,[1] and his own were put together by his grandson, Sahansar Ram, son of Mohan. He also made a selection, on his own account, of lyrics from the Bhagats whom he used to admire in his Vaishnative days, and adding his comments here and there left them for posterity. These volumes were later on used by Guru Arjun for the compilation of the Holy Granth. Guru Amar Das declared the Guru's Word to be superior to all the scriptures of the world, and the Sikhs were enjoined to use only the Guru's Word in worship *(Anand,* xxiv). He rejected the six systems of Hindu philosophy in favour of the Guru's dispensation : 'This system of God is obtained by fortunate ones through the Guru's Word by means of true detachment. The six systems of the Hindus are in vogue now a days, but the Guru's system is profound and unequalled. It

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1. That Guru Angad had his predecessor's sayings with him is proved by the fact that many of his own compositions have a direct bearing upon Guru Nanak's and echo the very expressions of the latter. (See the *shlokas* of Guru Angad attached to Guru Nanak's 22nd *pauri* in *Asa di Var;* also compare the two *shlokas* of the 17th *pauri* of *Var Majh*). That Guru Amar Das had Guru Nanak's compositions with him when he wrote his own hymns is proved by several facts; e.g., (a) Guru Amar Das used almost the same musical measures (17 out of 19) as are used by Guru Nanak; (b) he writes an acrostic of the same kind called *Patti* and in the same measure called *Asa* as does Guru Nanak; (c) his elegiac verses, called *Alāhniān,* correspond to the elegiac piece of the same name and in the same measure (*Vadhans*) in Guru Nanak; (d) his *Solhe* verses in *Maru* are of the same type as the *Solhe* of Guru Nanak in the same measure; (e) he composed his *shloka* about Lahore (*Lāhore sāhr Amritsār sifti dāghār:* The city of Lahore is a spring of nectar, a home of graces) only in reply to Guru Nanak's pronouncement about the same city (*Lāhore sahr jahr kahr sawā pahr :* the city of Lahore for some hours is full of poison, a veritable curse). There are other verses of Guru Amar Das which show traces of his reading in Guru Nanak's compositions.

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provides the way of salvation, and makes the True One reside in the heart. This system, if adopted with love, can save the whole world' (*Āsā*, xi).

As a result of this integration of Sikh doctrine, the Sikhs were becoming more and more self-contained in social matters. Some reform in the matter of marriage and death ceremonies was taken in hand in the time of this Guru.[1] He introduced the system of performing all ceremonies with the help of the Guru Bani.'[2] When dying he ordered his sons, relations and followers to sing only the praises of God on his death, and not to follow the old practice of calling in a Pandit to recite a Puran, to offer barley rolls, to light lamps, etc.[3]

He breathed his last on September 1, 1574, after consecrating his son-in-law, Ram Das, as his successor.

4. GURU RAM DAS (1534-1581)

Ram Das originally called Jetha, was born of a Sodhi family, in the Chune Mandi, Lahore, on September 24,1534. While serving along with other Sikhs in the construction of his Bāoli at Goindval, he attracted the attention of Guru Amar Das, and received the hand of his daughter, Bibi Bhani, in marriage. There after he stayed with his father-in-law, and was closely associated with his ministry. He put on record[4] many an incident connected with the struggles that his Master had with his opponents, and as such his writings are a mine of information about the period. He had made himself so indispensable that his choice for the *gaddi* was a forgone conclusion.

On his appointment, in order to avoid any possible unpleasantness with the relatives of the last Guru, he shifted his residence to the present site of Amritsar. Here, to quote the *Amritsar Gazetteer*, 'in 1577 he obtained a grant of the site, together with 500 bighas of land, from the Emperor Akbar, on payment of Rs. 700 Akbari to the zemindars of Tung who owned the land.' The Guru dug the Tank and laid the foundation of the city of Amritsar, then called *Chak Guru, Chak Ramdas, or Ramdaspura.* He invited

1. See Banerjee's *The Evolution of the Khalsa*, I, 178-183.
2. Rose's *Glossary*, p. 719.
3. See Sundar's *Sadd*, v: also Macauliffe, II. 153.
4. See particularly his *Vār Gaurī* viii. ix, xii, xiv, xxx, xxxiii.

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men of 52 trades to take up their residence there and to open their business in the Guru's market, which is still known as *Gurū-kā-bazār*. The city, in the course of time, grew to be biggest centre of trade in the north.

In the search after purely religious matters, we often forget how much the Panjab owes to the Sikh Gurus for advancing the trade and manufacture of the country. If the Mughal emperors were great builders, the Sikh Gurus were no less. Judging from the scanty resources at the disposal of the Gurus, it is nothing short of a marvel for them to have founded so many cities, reservoirs and wells. The immediate effeot of the teaching, that religion could be best practised within the secular concerns of life, was that all prejudices against labour and trade were removed, and the people—even the spiritually-minded people—began to take active part in what were called worldly affairs. Gango, a Khatri of the Bassi tribe, came to Guru Amar Das and asked, 'Lord what shall I do to save myself?' 'Open a bank at Delhi,' said the Guru.[1] Possession of wealth was no longer to be considered as Maya, but as a very salutary and helpful thing in the conduct of human affairs. 'For a religious man, it is not unholy to get wealth, provided he spends it in God's way, and gives and lives in comfort' *(Vār Sārang)*. Guru Ram Das once said to his Sikhs, 'When a Sikh has an important business in hand, join him and pray for him. If you see that it cannot be carried on without funds, collect subscriptions for him from every quarter, and at the same time contribute something yourselves.'[2] Henceforth we often hear of horse-dealing, banking, embroidery and carpentry among the Sikhs.

Guru Ram Das seeing his end approaching went to Goindval, where he died on September 1, 1581, leaving three sons, the youngest of whom, Arjun, became the Guru.

5. GURU ARJUN (1563-1606)

The eldest son of Guru Ram Das, named Prithi Chand, being a mere schemer who had earned from his father the epithet *Mina*[3]

1. Macauliffe, II. 115. Gango's shrine is now at a village named Daū, near Kharar in the Ambala district.
2. See Macauliffe, II. 275.
3. Bhai Gurdas, *Var* xxvi. 33; also *Var* xxxvi; *Dabistān*, p. 234.

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of detestable, and the second son, Mahadeo, being a recluse, the choice fell upon the youngest, Arjun Mal, who had shown his fitness by his devotion, learning and proficiency in Sikh doctrine. Born on April 15, 1563, he had been a favourite of his maternal grandfather, Amar Das, who had called him 'the ferry-boat of scriptures'. He had also been intimately connected with his father's work. When Arjun assumed the role of Guruship, he took his residence at Ramdaspur, and completed the work of building the tank and the city. The Sikhs extended to him all help, manual as well as material, but the money contributions sent from distant places often did not reach him. This was due to the interference of his brother Prithia. Guru Arjun had assigned his whole income from house-property to his brothers, keeping for the maintenance of the public kitchen and other institutions only the voluntary offerings of the faithful. Still Prithia was not appeased, and he way laid the unsuspecting Sikh pilgrims and took away from them the offering intended for the Guru. Bhai Gurdas,[1] who had been working as a missionary at Agra, returned at this time to pay his homage to the new Guru at Ramdaspur (Amritsar), and finding the sad state of things took into his own hands the management of the Guru's affairs.

The number of Sikhs had increased enormously. There was hardly any city in the Panjab or outside where some Sikhs were not to be found. They were bound by social usage and disposed from reverential feelings to make offerings to their spiritual guide. They used to send these offerings by those who visited the Guru. From the days of Guru Ram Das this work of conveying money-offerings was assigned to prominent missionaries, called *Masands*.[2] By the

1. He was a cousin of Guru Arjun's mother, and had entered the fold of Sikhism in the time of Guru Ram Das in 1579. Besides being a great scholar and writer (of 40 *vārs* in Panjabi and 556 *kabits* in Hindi), he was an ardent preacher and interpreter of Sikhism. He died in the time of Guru Hargobind in 1637.
2. The word *masand* is from Persian *masnad*, meaning an elevated seat, for which the word *gaddi* was also used. As the Sikh preachers, being representatives of the Gurus, were offered higher seats or *gaddis* in congregations, they were called *masnads or masands*. They were also called *Ramdās*, after the name of the Guru who instituted their order and whom they represented.

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time of Guru Arjun this work had increased a great deal, and the interference of his brother had made it imperative that some more satisfactory arrangement should be made for the proper handling of the money. He who undertakes to raise public works of enormous dimensions, that are sure to require and attract money, will be no better than a criminal if he neglects to make suitable arrangements for its honest collection and safe conveyance to the proper custody. What Guru Arjun did in this connection was to order that in future every Sikh was to set aside *dasvandh* or one-tenth of his income for the Guru's fund, and to remit it through an accredited *Masand*, who was to come regularly every year at Baisakhi with a Sangat and to present his collection to the Guru in person. There is not a little of proof anywhere that these offerings were anything but voluntary. Mohsin Fani, in his *Dabistan*, used for them the correct words *bheint* and *nazar*, but curiously enough he also gave a wrong synonym *bāj* (tribute), which has been seized upon by theorists engaged in proving the existence of political motives even in the religious work of the later Gurus. Some have gone to the length of saying that 'the Sikhs, says the almost contemporary Mohsin Fani, became accustomed to a regular government.'[1] There is, in fact, nothing in Mohsin Fani to support this statement. It originated only with the defective translation of a passage dealing with *Masands*

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With the extension of Sikh circles much beyond the Panjab, the Masand system had come to replace the Manjis of Guru Amar Das, which had been mostly confined to that province. That the Masands were not merely collectors of *bheint* or offerings, but were preachers of religion is evident from the *Dabistan*, p. 233, and also from the fact that they were given the religious epithet 'Ramdās', the *alter ego* of the Guru himself.

1. Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, (1918), p. 52. Later writers improving upon Cunningham say, 'The Sikhs were gradually accustomed to a kind of government of their own, and began to feel themselves as a firmly organised and strong party within the state' (Trumpp, lxxxi; also quoted by Banerjee in his *Evolution of the Khalsa*, I. 195—196). 'The Sikhs had already become accustomed to a form of self-government within the empire' (Narang, p. 76). The beauty of it is that all these authors swear by the *Dabistan*, which has nothing at all to support these allegations. The actual words in the original (p. 233) are :

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by Shea and Troyer.

In 1589 Guru Arjun laid the foundation of the central temple, now called the Golden Temple, in the midst of the tank of Amritsar. Its doors were open on all sides, signifying that the Sikh worship was open to all. The Guru set out on a tour in the districts to propagate his religion and to organise his Sangats. He emphasised the superiority of congregational worship and the merit of saving something for the common fund. He did much to counteract the increasing influence of Sakhi Sarvar in the Panjab. By way of social reform he married one Hema Chaudhri of Bahrwāl to a widow. He encouraged his Sikhs to engage in business and increase in prosperity. Many Sikhs took to the manly and adventurous trade in horses, for which they had to undertake long journeys to Kabul and Turkistan. The Guru founded Tarn Taran in 1590 and Kartarpur in the Jullundur Doab in 1594. They became centres of trade and helped the prosperity of the surrounding tracts. At Tarn Taran he opened an asylum for lepers. At Lahore he constructed a Baoli[1] in the Dabbi Bazar. Sri Gobindpur on the Beas was built to celebrate the birth of his son.

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مردم بتوسیط آں مسند سکھ گورو شدن گرفتند و مسندان بزرگ کہ جمعے کثیر
بتوسط ایشاں سکھ گورو بودند از جانب خود نایباں تعین نمودند تا در ہر
جائے و محلے بتوسط ایشاں مسند میلی آں مسند شدہ سکھ گورو گردند

(Through that Masand people became Sikhs of the Guru. The chief Masands, through whom great multitudes became Sikhs of the Guru appointed their own deputies, until in every place and district the associates of a masand through his deputy became Sikhs of the Guru.)

The mischief began with the wrong translation of this passage by Shea and Troyer, Vol. II. 271, which was blindly copied by Cunningham and others, and the cry has been repeated since then without verification. The basis of political organisation being thus well and truly laid, it was natural that the schemes of 'revenue' and 'budget' should follow.

1. This *Baoli* was filled up in 1628 by the orders of Shah Jahan, who got a mosque erected in its place. This mosque was pulled down and the *Baoli* restored by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1834. The *Baoli* has again been destroyed in the communal troubles of 1947.

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On June 14, 1595, his only son, Hargobind, was born at Vadali, near Amritsar, where the Guru had retired for a time to avoid a clash with his brother, Prithia. The birth of a son, however, increased the hostility of Prithia, who now saw no chance for his own son, Meharban. Many passages in the writings of Guru Arjun show that there were a number of attempts made on the life of his son, who, however, was providentially saved to grow up a worthy successor of his father. Prithia then allied himself with a government official, named Sulhi Khan, and through him tried to harass the Guru, but the official died an ignominious death by a fall into a live kiln,[1] and Prithia too felt discomfited by this accident.

This gave a welcome respite to Guru Arjun, who began to devote his attention to the greatest work of his life. It was the compilation of the Holy Granth.

Sikhism was essentially a religion of the Name. In it the most obvious religious exercise was the recitation or singing of the Guru's Word,[2] to the exclusion of all other ceremony or ritual. Seeing the importance of this practice many clever persons, like Prithia, had begun to mix up spurious writings with the true compositions of the Gurus and to make them current among the Sikhs. There was a danger of confusion in the creed and the ritual; and the Guru who was responsible for the organisation of Sikhism on a sound basis had to ensure unity of belief and practice. He undertook therefore to collect the genuine writings of his predecessors and, adding to them his own, to prepare a grand volume out of them. As we have seen, some of the work had already been done by the Second and the Third Gurus, and the manuscripts lay with Baba Mohan at

1. Guru Arjun mentions this incident in a hymn under *Bilaval*. See Macauliffe, III. 86.
2. *Var Āsā*, vi. 1. See also Bhai Gurdas, *Var*, xiii, where he says, 'The Guru's hymns which are before us are superior to the Vedas and the Quran.' 'In this world the best practice is of the Word' (*Parbhāti* of Guru Nanak). 'My yoga is practised by the singing of Thy hymns' (Guru Arjun's *Āsā*). Sujan Rai of Batala, writing about Sikhs in 1697, says, "The only way of worship with them is that they read the hymns composed by their Gurus and sing them sweetly in accompaniment with musical instruments.' In the Golden Temple, Amritsar, up to this time, nothing but continuous singing of hymns, day and night, by relays of singers is allowed.

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Goindval.[1] Guru Arjun went there personally, and brought them reverently to Amritsar. As these Goindval manuscripts do not contain all the writings included in the Holy Granth, he must have consulted other[2] sources too to get at the complete works required. He sat down at Ramsar, a beautiful solitary spot to the south of Amritsar, and began his work of composition and compilation.

His own contribution was the biggest, and included some of the sublimest pieces, like the *Sukhmani*,[3] which being free from any touch of sectarianism have been favourite readings with non-Sikhs in Sindh as well as in the Panjab. His chief qualities as a writer are intellectual vigour, classical restraint, and serenity of emotion arising from practical needs of life. There is in his writings a still sad music of humanity, a lyrical cry coming from the heart that has known suffering and has found peace. It is a peace behind which lies a tremendous struggle with pain, culminating in victory, 'like the calm of the weather brought about by a shower of rain following on a storm of dust and wind.' (*Kabir*).

Besides his own and his predecessors' compositions, he also included selections from the writings of fifteen Hindu and Muslim saints, Kabir, Farid, Namdev, Ravidas, Bhikhan, etc., most of whom belonged to the so-called depressed or untouchable classes. Five at

1. These MSS, containing two volumes, were up to recently at Goindval with the descendents of Baba Mohan, but now both of them are missing. One of them, bearing the date 1652 Bk. (1595 A.D.), is traceable to Ahiapur, a village in Hoshiarpur district, and the other to a Sikh, named Baba Bhagat Singh, living in the Frontier Province.
2. One such source is said to be a big volume still kept at the Dharamsala of Bhai Buta Singh at Rawalpindi. In addition to many other things, it also contains two passages, in continuation of the *Var* of Satta and Balvand, in praise of Guru Hargobind; but these additional passages appear to be spurious. The volume may have formed a small nucleus when used by Guru Arjun; but, as now it stands, it contains several hymns of Guru Tegh Bahadur too, besides those of Guru Arjun, showing clearly that it has been added to later on. What are alleged to be signatures of some Gurus are really verses of Guru Gobind Singh written in a style peculiar to him. The manucript is written in several hands, representing the various styles of Gurmukhi calligraphy current at different stages of its development. One part written in Sanskrit, mentions the date 1693 Bk. (i. e. 1636 A. D.).
3. See *In the Sikh Sanctuary*, by T. L. Vasvani, and *The Psalm of Peace*, by Teja Singh.

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least (Farid, Bhikhan, Satta, Balvand and Mardana) were Mohammedans. The selection was based, not on doctrinal but the lyrical and living value of the pieces.

The idea of making this selection was not new. It was inherent in the cosmopolitan nature of Sikhism, and had begun with its founder. That Guru Nanak himself had the writings of Kabir with him is proved by the fact that many of Kabir's expressions are embedded in his own; e. g.

> 'Sutak will enter into our kitchens' (*Var Asa*) is found also in Kabir's *Gauri*. 'The mind is born out of the five senses' occurring in Guru Nanak's *Asa* is the same as 'The mind is the creatures of the five senses' of Kabir's *Gauri*. 'Live pure amidst the impurities of the world' is word for word the same in Guru Nanak's *Suhi* as in Kabir's *Gauri*. 'To conquer the mind is to conquer the world' is found in Guru Nanak's *Japji* as well as in Kabir's *Maru*. 'Without the True Guru they shall not find the way' (*Var Asa*) also occurs in Kabir's *Basant* and Beni's *Prabhati*. Many verses in Guru Nanak's 5th *shloka* of the 12th *pauri* of the first *Var* in *Ramkali* are the same as Kabir's verses in *Bhairo* about a Qazi. Some couplets of Farid are embodied in the writings of Guru Nanak (e.g. 113 and 114). Sometimes the Guru criticises Farid's views and inserts his own *salokas* after his (e.g. 119-120 and 123-124). See also Farid's *Suhi* (ii) and Guru Nanak's reply to it in the same measure, *ghar* 6 (ii).

A similar identity or correspondence in expression is found between Second, Third and Fourth Gurus, on the one hand, and Farid and Kabir, on the other. This could only be explained by the supposition that the predecessors of Guru Arjan had before them the writings of these Bhagats, and that Guru Arjun was not the first to think of making a collection of their verses.

What Guru Arjun did was to give them a scriptual position, and following up the work of his predecessors to enlarge the scope of this inclusion. He was unable to secure their originals, and had therefore to depend on the Goindval manuscripts and what was available from the followers of those saints in the Panjab, where their language had been Panjabised to some extent. This will explain why so many Panjabi words and forms are found in the Bhagats' writings as incorporated in the Holy Granth.

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The Guru had to reject the compositions of many men, like Kanha, Chhajju, Shah Hussain and Pilo, who had requested him to find a place for them in his Granth : some were considered unsuitable because of their Vedantic leanings, others because of their hatred for the world or for women. He wanted only healthy optimism and joy in worldly duties and responsibilities, and not mere tearful ecstaticism or other worldliness.

The huge material thus assembled was reduced to writing by Bhai Gurdas at the dictation of Guru Arjun. It is arranged according to 31 musical measures, those modes being rejected which are calculated to work the mind to extremes of joy or sadness; e.g., *Megh* and *Hindol*; *Jog* and *Deepak*. The *Vars* or odes are constructed on a truly indigenous basis, nine out of twenty-two being set to the martial strains of the well-known heroic ballads. Within each *Rāg* or measure the passages are arranged according to subject or thought, and groups of hymns forming single paragraphs always begin with an invocation to God. First come the writings of the Gurus in the order of their succession, each calling himself by the common appellation of *Nanak;* then follow those of the saints, beginning with Kabir and ending—if there is any piece from him—with Farid, Towards the end, after the *shloks* of Kabir and Farid, are given the *Swayyas* of eleven contemporary Bards[1] who admirably sum up the characteristics of the different Gurus. After a miscellany of *shloks* left over from insertion in the *Vars*, the Book closes with an epilogue, called *Mundavani*, in which the author says :

> In this dish are placed three things; Truth, Harmony and Wisdom.
> These are seasoned with the Name of God which is the ground of all,
> Whoever eats and enjoys it will be saved.

And then he adds with a genuine pride in the work he has accomplished for the regeneration of mankind :

> It is a thing you cannot afford to ignore;
> You must clasp it to your hearts.

The Book was to be translated into Indian and foreign languages, so that it might spread over the whole world as oil spreads over

1. Besides these there are in the Granth a few lines of Mardana, a short piece from Sundar on the death of Guru Amar Das, and a long Coronation Ode by Satta and Balvand.

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water.[1] It was completed[2] and installed in the central Temple at Amritsar in 1604, and Baba Buddha was appointed its first *Granthi* or custodian.

While the Book was still in preparation, the enemies of the Guru represented to Akbar that he was compiling a book in which the Muslim and Hindu prophets were reviled. The Emperor visited the Guru at Goindval[3] towards the end of 1598, and was very much pleased to hear some of the passages read out to him from it. He found nothing objectionable in them, and expressed his deep appreciation for the Book, which as 'the first great Scripture of Synthesis'[4] was bound to appeal to the founder of the first synthetical religion of the world. Akbar also remitted a portion of the year's revenue to the zamindars, whose hardships were brought to his notice by the Guru.[5]

As long as this friendly monarch lived, he did not allow anybody to harm the Guru; but the enemies of Arjun got a better chance with his successor. Akbar died in 1605, and his place was taken by his son, Jahangir. This man was not so liberal in his views as his father, and when ascending the throne had promised his adherents that he would defend the Mohammedan religion.[6] He did not interfere with holy men as such, but true to his promise he would not allow any strong religious centres to be formed within his dominions, because they might develop into disturbers of peace. He did not

1. *Sūraj Prakāsh*, iii. 41.
2. It was brought to its present final form by Guru Gobind Singh, who added Guru Tegh Bahadur's hymns under different Rāgs and his shlokas at the end, As the Book now stands, it contains the following number of distinct pieces from different authors : Guru Nanak—976; Guru Angad—61; Guru Amar Das—907; Guru Ram Das—679; Guru Arjun—2216; Guru Tegh Bahadur—118; and the Bhagats, Bards, etc—937. The total comes to 5894.
3. Akbar is said to have seen the Holy Granth after its completion in 1604 at Batala (see Gyan Singh's *Twārikh Khālsā*; Cf. Macauliffe, III. 81). But there is no support for this in Persian histories. According to Badauni and Sujan Rai, the meeting between the Guru and the Emperor took place at Goindval (see *Khulāsātut Twārikh*, p. 425; and *Akbarnāma*, p. 514).
4. *In the Sikh Sanctuary*, by T. L. Vasvani, p. 5.
5. *Khulāsātut Twārikh*, p. 425.
6. V. A. Smith's *Akbar*, p. 322. See also Sri Ram Sharma's *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, p. 71.

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tolerate conversions of Muslims to other religions.

It appears from his own *Tuzuk* that he had already formed a prejudice against the Sikh movement. He says about Guru Arjun :

> So many of the simple-minded Hindus, nay, many foolish Muslims too, had been fascinated by his ways and teachings. He was noised about as a religious and worldly leader. They called him *Guru*, and from all directions crowds of fools would come to him and express great devotion to him. This busy traffic had been carried on for three or four generations. *For years the thought had been presenting itself to my mind that either I should put an end to this false traffic, or he should be brought into the fold of Islam* (p. 35).

Jahangir got the long-sought chance in the rebellion of Khusrau, and he did not want to miss it. He was told that during his flight Prince Khusrau had been visited by Guru Arjun, who had talked of past affairs with him and had made a saffron-mark on his forehead. This was interpreted as a gesture of blessing in favour of the rebel, and the Guru was ordered to be arrested. No enquiry was made, and no trial held. Jahangir simply says, 'I fully knew his heresies, and I ordered that he should be brought into my presence, that his houses and children be made over to Murtaza Khan, that his property be confiscated, and that he should be put to death with tortures.'

This needs a little scrutiny. Jahangir had come in pursuit of his rebel son from Agra to Lahore, punishing on the way all those[1] who were reported to have helped Khusrau or interested themselves in any way in his cause. It is strange that he should have passed through the whole tract of Majha, stopping even at Goindval where the Guru was supposed to be residing, and yet no complaint should have reached his ears about the complicity of Guru! It was after Khusrau had been captured from the bank of the Chenab and brought to Lahore and punished that the first report was lodged with the Emperor against the Guru. The whole thing looks queer. How was it that during the whole march from the Beas to Lahore the Emperor should not have heard anything about the affair from official or non-official sources, including the Guru's detractors of

1. E. g. Sheikh Nazam of Thanesar, who had prayed for Khusrau's welfare was sent to Mecca (at state expense !), while the Sikh Guru was to be tortured to death !

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whom there was no scarcity? The story seems to have been invented by the Guru's traducers afterwards, when the Emperor was leaving Lahore, so that there might be no enquiry held nor the fabrication exposed.

There were other stories too made current at the same time to give a political tinge to the Guru's action and to justify the severity of the step taken against him. One was that he had offered prayers[1] for the success of Khusrau, and another that he had provided a goodly sum to the refugee Prince. They were too good, if true, to have been ignored by Jahangir in his Memories. The real fact is that the Guru was not interested in any claimant to the throne; and Khusrau, if he ever met the Guru, must have gone to him casually, as all men in trouble do, 'hoping apparently that this would bring him good fortune.'[2]

The Guru was handed over to Chandu Shah, who, according to Sikh accounts, had a private grudge against him. He was subjected to all sorts of tortures in the burning heat of Lahore; and finally, to add to his agonies, his blistered body was thrown into the cold water of the Ravi, which carried it away to its final rest. This occurred on May 30, 1606.

6. GURU HARGOBIND (1595-1644)

Historians usually see at this stage in Sikh history a sudden change in the character of Guruship. The Guru who had been a fakir now assumed the position of a *saccha padshah* (or true king), his church a sort of theocracy, his *masands* viceroys and their excellencies,[3] his collection of tithes a system of compulsory taxation

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1. *Dabistān*, p. 234.
2. *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, p. 11, translated by C. H. Payne from the *Relations* of Father Fernao Guerreiro, who bases his account on a letter written by Father Jerome Xavier to the Provincial of Goa, dated 25th Sept., 1606. According to Guerreiro, Guru Arjun was released in consideration of a hundred thousand crusados, for which sum a wealthy Hindu became his surety. This man in order to realize the fine subjected the Guru to 'every kind of ill-usage' which brought on death.
3. Narang, p. 73 fn. This author interprets everything in terms of politics. Even the Guru's kitchen becomes a source of propaganda and advertisement (pp. 49-50): the foundation of Amritsar is found to be important from the strategic

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flowing into a central treasury. The whole movement, in fact, is represented as having been transformed from something peaceful and spiritual into a mere military camp.

We have seen how the allegation of the assumption of regal power by Guru Arjun is based upon a wrong translation of a passage in the *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*. It will appear from the writings of the early Gurus, and especially those of the bards who began to write in the time of the Second Guru, that the terms *saccha pādshāh, rāj, takht, darbar* etc., were not later innovations, but had been used from the beginning. They are eastern euphemisms used in respect of all revered fakirs. It is also unscientific to suppose that there could be any sudden departure in the old line of work established by the earlier Gurus. The development must have been gradual. It happened that the Mughal emperors in the beginning were not intolerant. It also happened that Sikhism began with the establishment of the Mughal rule. Both being in their infancy, the emperors, on the one hand, had not that command over the empire which they got with Akbar and his successors; and on the other hand, Sikhism in the eyes of the public had not yet assumed any great proportions. Many causes like these conspired to make the progress of Sikhism a little smoother in the beginning. After Akbar's laxity of principles, however, it was thought better in the interest of Islam to change the state policy towards non Muslims. And, therefore, we hear more of persecutions after him. A new religion, which has active followers, is always felt to be a source of anxiety to the ruling community. For great religions do not bring with them only new doctrines; they also give a newer and stronger life to the nation, which it feels in every part of its being. It is stirred up socially, economically and politically as well as spiritually.

When Guru Nanak began his work, we have seen how he felt the political degradation of his people as much their religious

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point of view, a sort of capital and metropolis of the Sikh commonwealth, a base of operations (pp. 70-71); a leading helper of the Guru in the building operations is dubbed a commissioner of settlement (p. 70); the Holy Granth becomes a code of sacred as well as secular law (p. 72). Banerjee, in his *The Evolution of the Khalsa,* calls the Sikh reaction to Muslim persecution as a sudden transition to militarism.' (I. 11).

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deterioration. He wanted to see them free in every way, from the foreign yoke as well as from the trammels of the priestly class. According to him, 'Only fools or idiots try to rule over others' (*Basant*). He condemned the Lodhis for their cowardice, and upbraided the Mughal invaders for their tyranny. He lashed up the ebbing patriotism of his people, who abjectly offered loyalty to the alien rulers, and would mimick their fashions and manners in order to be acceptable to them (*Vār Āsā*, xvi). In his *Japji*, where he lays down the stages of man's development, he places heroes, mighty and brave, in the highest region, only next to that where God Himself dwells (xxxvii). He deplored the use of a foreign language in place of the people's own mother-tongue (*Basant*). All this was not spiritual, but very very secular. And yet it issued from the heart of a *Bhakta*, who saw that earthly freedom was rooted in spiritual freedom, and could not be separated from it. This may sound queer to those who are accustomed to think of saints as mere recluses, mumbling *mantras*, with hands folded and eyes upturned. The Sikh Gurus, however, were of a different mould. They were practical leaders as well as meditating saints, and thought it not inconsistent with their religious ideals to take active measures to teach service of mankind as much through advancement of trade, art and learning, as through holy communion, high-thinking and noble living.

They were very gentle and humble, yet on occasions, when their dignity or self-respect was touched, they knew how to be firm, as Guru Angad did when he was threatened by Humayun.[1] By the time of the Third and Fourth Gurus the Sikh community had become large enough to attract the attention and also the hostility of those whose interests were affected by its rise. Guru Ram Das, in his *Vār Gauri*, xiv, describes the Sikh movement of his time as an arena of opposing forces, wherein the Guru had to fight heroically against the odds. In the train of success came greatness, even worldly greatness, and the Guru broadened his shoulders to receive it. 'Why should we be afraid of its coming?' he says. 'It is God's own glory that increases thus. Mark, O brethren, this arena (i. e., the Sikh church) of the true and beloved God, who with His own

1. Macauliffe. II. 19-20.

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force has brought low all those people.' Guru Arjun too had come to talk of his struggles in terms of wrestling matches (*Sri Rag*). Under his stimulating leadership the Sikhs had acquired an intensity of character which steeled them against all tyranny and corruption. After describing the work of organization he had effected among his Sikhs, he says, 'Now the order of the Merciful had gone forth that no one shall molest another.' And the Sikhs had been sufficiently prepared to understand what that order meant for them. Bir Bal, a minister of Akbar, imposed a capitation tax on the Khatris of Amritsar, who led by Guru Arjun refused to pay it. Bir Bal threatened to bring an army to punish the Guru, but he was called away to the Frontier where he was killed, and nothing came of it.[1] Thus was war averted, but it is clear from this incident that the clash which came in the time of Guru Hargobind was due much earlier. Only an accident postponed it. The death of Guru Arjun, however, convinced the Sikhs that they must arm themselves and fight, if they wanted to live.

Guru Hargobind was only eleven years old when he came to the *gaddi* of his martyred father. He had been carefully trained for the high office, which, under the changed circumstances, was not only a place of honour but of great danger as well, and no ordinary man was expected to acquit himself well in it. Seeing the needs of the time, his father had placed him with Bhai Buddha, the veteran Sikh, who was asked to make a soldier-saint out of him. He instructed him in the sacred lore, and taught him the use of offensive and defensive weapons, besides riding, hunting, wrestling and many other manly sports. So he grew up to be an all-round man, healthy and strong, as well as saintly and enlightened.[2]

On the occasion of his accession, he wore two swords, one to represent spiritual and the other temporal interests. He sent a circular letter to his *Masands* to ask the Sikhs to bring, in future, arms and horses as a part of their offerings. He strengthened the city of Amritsar by putting up a small fortification, called *Lohgarh*. In 1609, he also built a meeting place for Sikhs and called it the *Akal*

1. See V. A. Smith's *Akbar;* Macauliffe, III. 16-17; & Archer's *Sikhs,* 169-170.
2. Bhai Gurdas says of him : 'The breaker of enemies' ranks. the brave, heroic Guru is yet a lover of mankind' (*Vār* i. 48).

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Takht, or the Throne of the Almighty. Here, besides praying and preaching, talks were held on questions affecting the welfare of the community. He enrolled a bodyguard of 52 stout Sikhs, who formed the nucleus of his future army. Five hundred youths came from Majha, Malva and the Doab to offer their services to dare and die for their religion. They did not want any pay. The Guru gave them each a horse and simple weapons of war, and formed a little army out of them. He kept up their spirits by taking them out on hunting expeditions, by arranging games and wrestling matches, and by holding symposiums of martial music. The morning service was held, as usual, in the Golden Temple, where besides other hymns certain divine odes, called *Vārs*, which had been set to heroic tunes by Guru Arjun, were sung. The Guru also gave sermons and led the congregations in prayer. In the afternoon physical feats were performed in the courtyard before the Akal Takht, or visitors were received and complaints heard and redressed. The Sikhs were thus encouraged to have their disputes decided among themselves. Under Guru Hargobind was also established the custom, which still continues, of choirs moving nightly round the Golden Temple and, with the blare of trumpets and flare of torches, singing humns in stirring tunes. All these programmes put a new life into the drooping hearts of Sikhs who, as the Sikh chronicle records, began to revive like vegetables in the rainy season.

Evidently the Emperor was alarmed at these preparations, and summoned the Guru to his presence. The Guru went, and was sent as a state prisoner to the fort of Gwalior,[1] where some other ruling

1. The period of the Guru's stay there is stated by Mohsin Fani to be 12 years, which is impossible on the very face of it, as during these very years, several children were born to him: Gurditta in 1613, Viro in 1615, Suraj Mal in 1617. Ani Rai in 1618, Atal in 1619 and Tegh Bahadur in 1621. The Guru could not have spent more than two years at Gwalior, and must have returned sometime in 1614. Forster calls it 'a short confinement' (p. 259). It may be that the Guru was sentenced to imprisonment for 12 years, but on representations being made on his behalf by Mian Mir and others he was released earlier.

Different reasons are given by writers for the incarceration of the Guru. The one given in the *Dabistan*, that the Guru had failed to pay the fine imposed on his father, is not acceptable on the ground that no such fine was imposed. At least the *Tuzuk* does not mention it. The strange allegation that

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chiefs were also serving their terms of imprisonment. He refused to take the rich meals offered to him in gaol, and chose to live on the poor food supplied by the Sikhs who did hard labour outside the fort. The Guru's sufferings increased the respect felt for him by his followers. They came in batches all the way to Gwalior and, kissing the walls of the fort from outside, returned to their homes. Even some good Mohammedans raised their voices in sympathy, and the Emperor was moved to release the Guru. The Guru, however, did not accept the offer until all the 52 princes incarcerated with him were allowed to come out, each holding a part of his garment. For he is remembered as *Bandichhor*[1] or Deliverer.

Jahangir lived for several years after this, but he never gave any further trouble to Guru Hargobind. Rather he tried to befriend him. He seemed to have been convinced that he had been misled in handling the case of Guru Arjun, and throwing the blame on Chandu Shah handed him over to Guru Hargobind. Chandu Shah was paraded in the streets of Lahore, where a grain-parcher struck him with a ladle and killed him on the spot. Jahangir would go hunting with the Guru, and would make much of his company.[2] He even paid a visit to Amritsar, and offered to complete the building of the Akal Takht at his own expense. The Guru, however, declined the offer, saying, "Let me and my Sikhs raise this Throne of God with the labour of our own bodies and with the contributions from our own little resources. I wish to make it a symbol of my Sikhs' service and sacrifice, and not a monument to a king's generosity."

Being left in peace, the Guru engaged himself in the work of

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the Guru had embezzled the money entrusted to him for disbursement to his troops is again based on a wrong translation of the *Dabistan* by Shea and Troyer, used by Cunningham, Narang, etc., without referring to the original, which contains the following sentence : *Vazah-i-sipāhiān peshgrift*. It only means that the Guru adopted the style of a soldier.

1. The spot in the fort is still marked with a cenotaph bearing this epithet. It is a place of piligrimage for Sikhs.
2. Some writers, like Narang, Banerjee, Rose, etc., have been misled by a wrong translation of the *Dabistan* to assert that the Guru took up service under Jahangir. Shea and Troyer do say that the Guru entered Shah Jahan's service (p. 274), but a look at the original gives a different story.

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preaching. After Guru Nanak he was the first Guru who went outside the Panjab to spread his religion. He travelled from place to place like Guru Nanak, and went as far as Kashmir in the north and Nanakmata, near Pilibhit, in the east. He made many converts to Sikhism from the Hindus and the Muslims. In Kashmir[1] particularly he converted thousands who had gone over to Islam. On his return to the plains he met, at Gujrat, an incident which shows the peculiar spirit of the Guru. Shah Daula, whose shrine is still revered by thousands, remonstrated with the Guru, saying, "How can a Hindu be a fakir? How can you be a religious man, when you have a wife and children, and possess worldly wealth?" The Guru replied, "A wife is her man's conscience, his children continue his memory, and wealth gives him his sustenance. As for a fakir, he is neither a Hindu nor a Mussalman." He visited the places connected with the previous Gurus, and put up memorials to them. He made arrangements for holding regular services in Sikh temples. He also built the town of Kiratpur in the hills, and erected—beside Gurdwaras—temples and mosques in it at his own expense.

The Guru was, however, not allowed to live long in peace. Jahangir died in 1627, and Shah Jahan succeeded him. The new king changed the policy of his government towards the non-Muslims. He prohibited the conversion of Muslims,[2] and ordered the demolition

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1. Since the visit of Guru Nanak, Brahm Das and his descendants had been looking after the Sikh congregations in the Kashmir valley. Guru Arjun had deputed Madho Sodhi (see Bhai Gurdas *Var* 11, *Mahima Prakash* and *Gursikh Bhagat Ratanāvali*). Guru Hargobind sent Bhai Garhia, who lived on up to the time of Guru Tegh Bahadur. In the time of Guru Gobind Singh, Bhais Amolak Singh, Pheru Singh, Panjab Singh, etc., spread the mission of the Khalsa in the valley (see *Gujhè Hīrè*, by Budh Singh of Poonch. 1927). There are, as a result, many Gurdawaras there, e.g., at Srinagar, Baramula. Mattan, Vairinag, Anantnag. Islamabad, Naluchhi. Most of the Sikh converts, especially their preachers, came from the Brahmin families.
2. See Sri Ram Sharma's *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, p. 107. The Guru had made many conversions of Muslims in Kashmir, but what excited the Muslims most was the conversion of Kaulan, a daughter of the Qazi of Lahore. She had changed her faith, and finding it difficult to live with her parents, had come over to Amritsar, where she was given a separate house to live in. Later on, a tank was dug in her honour to the south of the Golden Temple, and was called the *Kaulsar*.

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of many temples. This brought him into conflict with the Sikhs, who were determined to exert their right of making conversions, and were particulary annoyed at the desecration of their famous Baoli of Lahore, which was filled up and a mosque erected on the site of the free kitchen attached to it.[1] Both parties were primed for a clash, and the slightest cause was sufficient to make them go at each other.

One day, in 1628, Shah Jahan was hunting in the neighbourhood of Amritsar. At Gumtala one of his favourite hawks strayed away and fell into the hands of a hunting party of Sikhs, who refused to part with it, as they did not recognise those who came to claim it. Altercation led to blows, and the royal party returned beaten to report to the Emperor as to what had happened. A detachment of troops under Mukhlis Khan was sent to arrest the Guru and bring him to Lahore. This was the beginning of war.

That the attack was sudden and unexpected may be seen from the fact that the Guru was then busy with preparations for his daughter's marriage, and had no munitions of war with him; even a gun had to be improvised from the hollow trunk of a fallen tree.[2] The battle, which was a mere skirmish, occurred at the site where now the Khalsa College stands. The baggage and property of the Guru was plundered.[3] But when Mukhils Khan was killed in the mélée, the Mughal troops returned discomfited. The Guru retired to Jhabal, about eight miles to the south-west, where he was able to perform the marriage of his daughter.

To avoid any further trouble, he shifted his residence to Kartarpur (in the Jullundur Doab), where he recouped his resources. He also extended and improved his father's town of Sri Gobindpur, which came to be called Sri Hargobindpur. For the sake of his Mohammedan troops and other inhabitants he built a mosque at his own expense. The presence of the reforming Guru there roused the ire of a bigoted Hindu, Bhagwan Dass Gherar, who in 1630 picked a quarrel with the Guru and was killed in the conflict that ensued. His son, Rattan Chand sought the help of Abdulla Khan,

1. See *Encyclopaedia of Sikh Literature*, by Kahan Singh, p. 2573, Ist edition.
2. Macauliffe. IV. 82.
3. *Dābistan*, p. 235.

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the Faujdar of Jullundur, who attacked the Guru. After three days' hard fighting the Jullundur forces were defeated, and Abdulla Khan and Rattan Chand were among the slain. The son of Abdulla appealed to the Emperor for help, but was told that, as his father's expedition had been unauthorised, nothing could be done for him.

The Guru after this went about preaching his religion and making converts, but he was not allowed to do so for long, as next year another tussle began with the imperial forces, this time over the possession of two horses. A *Masand* from Kabul had brought two beautiful horses for the Guru. They were seized on the way by a Mughal official and sent to the royal stables. They were recovered by an adventurous Sikh, Bhai Bidhi Chand,[1] whose 'larking' campaigns were so humorously conceived and romantically executed that for him even the prosaic Mr. Macauliffe is constrained to pause for diversion. Disguising himself, first as a grass-cutter and then as an astrologer-tracker, Bidhi Chand carried away both the horses, one after the other, from the fort, and brought them to their rightful owner. War followed. The Guru was then moving about in Malva, when he was attacked by a powerful army led by Lalla Beg and Qamar Beg. The battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Nathana and Mahraj. More than 1200 Sikhs were killed or wounded; casualties on the other side, including those of the commanders, were much more numerous. The Guru to commemorate his victory built a tank, called Gurusar, on the spot.

In 1632, the Guru went to Kartarpur, where he stayed for some time. Painde Khan, a Pathan captain, once a favourite of the Guru, had been showing signs of disaffection. For a misdemeanour he was dismissed from service, and he went over to the Emperor and induced him to despatch a strong force against the Guru. Kale Khan, brother of Mukhlis Khan, who had been killed in the battle of Amritsar, led the army and was assisted by Painde Khan and Qutab Khan, the Faujdar of Jullundur. The Guru was besieged in Kartarpur

1. He had been a freebooter in his early life, but being converted to Sikhism by Guru Arjun he had become a good man, all his wild energy being now diverted in a different channel. His once being a robber, however, has been used by many writers to accuse Guru Hargobind of enlisting dacoits and highwaymen in his army.

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in 1634. His Sikhs, who fought for their faith, were more than a match for the royal forces, which fought merely for pay and plunder. The Sikhs were ably led by Bidhi Chand and Baba Gurditta, the eldest son of the Guru. Even Tegh Bahadur, who was about 14 years old, is said to have taken part in this battle. In a hand-to-hand fight Painde Khan fell upon his former master, Guru Hargobind, but, receiving a mortal blow, fell at the latter's feet. The Guru cried, 'You are a Mussalman. Now is the time for you to repeat your creed.' Painde Khan repenting replied, 'O Guru, thy sword is my creed and my source of salvation.' The Guru, seeing his former favourite dying, was moved to pity. He shaded him with his shield from the scorching rays of the sun and, bursting into tears, bade him farewell. With the death of Painde Khan, which was soon followed by that of Kale Khan, the commander, the imperial army was disheartened and a general stampede followed.

Guru Hargobind had won four battles, but as his purpose had always been only defensive,[1] he did not acquire even an inch of territory as a result of these victories. There was something far greater involved in this warfare than a mere dispute over a hawk or a horse. A new heroism was rising in the land, of which the object, then dimly seen, was to create the will to resist the mighty power of the foreign aggressors, called the 'Toorks' (who were ordinarily called 'Mussalmans' when they behaved in good neighbourly manner).

The Guru retired to Kiratpur and resumed his work of religious ministry. In order that the work of preaching might not suffer during the wars, he had appointed Baba Gurditta to look to that side. Gurditta was a married man and a soldier, but he was also a saint, and looked an exact image of Baba Nanak as he must have appeared during the *udasis* or missionary tours. He had also received the blessings of Baba Sri Chand,[2] Guru Nanak's son, who had adopted

1. See Malcolm's *Sketch*, p. 44,
2. Before dying in 1629 Sri Chand had asked Guru Hargobind to give him one of his sons for adoption. The Guru gave him Gurditta who got Sri Chand's mitre and necklace. The words of Sri Chand addressed to the Guru on that occasion were : The Guruship was already with you. I had only the fakir's mitre and now that too is given over to your family. (*Sūraj Prakāsh*, v. 27, and *Panth*

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him as his protege. In 1636, he was asked by his father, Guru Hargobind, to appoint four head-preachers, which he did; investing them with his own peculiar dress in which he had symbolised himself as Guru Nanak before Pir Budhan Shah,[1] the great Simeon of Sikh history. Their names were : Almast,[2] Phul Gonda and Balu Hasna (so called because he had burst out laughing when given the queer dress to wear). They founded what are called *Dhūāṇs* or Hearths, and were very zealous preachers of Sikhism. As the Masands or Missionaries appointed by the earlier Gurus became more and more corrupt, this new order of preachers, called *Udāsis,*[3] attained more prominence. They proved particularly useful in spreading Sikhism in far distant and difficult places, because they had no home or family ties to handicap them. Besides these *Dhūāṇs,* in the course of time many other similar centres of missionary work, called *Bakhshishes* or Bounties, were instituted by Guru Har Rai, Guru Tegh Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh. Suthra Shah,[4] a humorist, had also a commission to carry on the mission of Guru Nanak in his own way.

The Guru spent the last ten years of his life at Kiratpur in meditation and prayer. His spirituality, however, was free from all mysticism or psychic hocus-pocus. He strongly disapproved the conduct of his sons, Baba Atal and Baba Gurditta, when they tried

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Prakāsh, p. 967). This event, instead of laying the foundation of a new schism, marks the closing scene of reconciliation between the two estranged families, and confirms the unity of Sikh organisation, for which the previous Gurus had worked so hard.

1. See Macauliffe, IV, pp. 140, 141, 214, 215.
2. This man was very adventurous. He was sent to Nanakmata and to Dacca, where at Shujatpur, near Ramma, he established a flourishing Sikh monastery. The Sangat of that place is known after the name of Nathe Sahib, the third successor of Almast. See the *Sikh Review,* July, 1915.
3. In the present-day controversies the *Udāsis* are being represented as non-Sikhs, or as an order quite distinct from the main body of Sikhs. Looking to the origin of the Udasis, it is inconceivable that the Gurus who appointed them could have allowed them to hold or spread views different from their own. See *Sikhism,* by Teja Singh, pp. 66-75.
4. See *Tarikh-i-Sikhān,* by Khushwaqt Rai, pp. 20-21; also Wilson's *At. Res.,* Vol. xvii, 236, and *Panth Prakash,* pp. 476-78.

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to work miracles. He was in favour of practising common virtues in everyday life, inspired by a sense of divine presence everywhere. He lived like a simple fakir, and gave up even the use of pillows. His Sikhs too were able to revert to their peaceful occupations. Some of them who were more adventurous were sent to distant places as missionaries or traders. Bidhi Chand was sent to preach Sikhism in Bengal, while Bhai Gurdas was sent to Kabul to buy horses. It speaks for an all-round development of the Sikh character that a warrior, at such a short notice, should be sent out as a missionary, and a scholar, as a trader.

As his promising son, Gurditta had died in 1638, the Guru was compelled to prepare somebody else to take his place as the future Guru. He appointed Har Rai to succeed him, and himself died on March 3, 1644.[1] His death was considered a national calamity, and the estimation in which he was held by the Sikhs may be judged from the fact that a great many of them volunteered to burn themselves on his funeral pile. Two of his followers, one a Rajput and the other a Jat, jumped into the flames of the burning pyre and continued moving round the corpse, and finally fell and expired at the Guru's feet. Others were ready to follow the example, but were forbidden by Har Rai.'[2]

7. GURU HAR RAI (1630-1661)

Guru Hargobind had five sons, Baba Gurditta, Suraj Mal, Ani Rai, Baba Atal and Tegh Bahadur. Baba Atal, Ani Rai and Gurditta died before their father. Suraj Mal was too worldly and Tegh Bahadur too unworldly. Neither was thought fit. Baba Gurditta left two sons, Dhir Mal and Har Rai. Dhir Mal, though the elder, was disloyal and had been plotting with the enemy. Har Rai alone had proved himself able to lead the community during those difficult days.

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1. The year 1055 A. H. (i. e. 1645 A. D.) given by Mohsin Fani is wrong, because the 3rd of Muharram that year did not fall on Sunday, the day given by him. It agrees with the year 1054 A. H. (1644 A. D.), which also falls in with the sikh chronologies. Mohsin Fani contradicts himself later on when he says that after his accession Guru Har Rai stayed for a year at Kiratpur, and still it was 1055 A. H.
2. Latif's *History of the Panjab*, p. 257; *Dabistān*, p. 237.

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He was born at Kiratpur on January 30, 1630.[1] From the beginning he had shown a good combination of strength and tenderness. He was a mighty hunter, and yet he was too kind-hearted to kill the animals he had chased or captured. He would bring them home, and feed and protect them in a zoo. One day during his childhood, as he was passing through a garden, his loose coat broke the stems of some flowers which fell to the ground. The sight was too much for him and brought tears to his eyes. He was very fond of singing Farid's lines : 'All men's hearts are jewels; it is wicked to distress them. If you desire to see the Beloved, grieve no man's heart.' He said, 'The temple or the mosque may be repaired or rebuilt, but not the broken heart.' He always asked his visitors whether they kept free kitchens and shared their food with others. Nothing pleased him better than to do good to others. It was from him that the ancestors of the rulers of Patiala, Nabha and Jind received the blessing of royalty.[2] A similar blessing was bestowed on Buddha Singh, an ancestor of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.[3]

Yet we should not forget that Guru Har Rai was a soldier. He kept a strong force of 2200 horsemen ready to be employed whenever necessary. The Guru, however, was bent on following the policy of peace. When the sons of Shah Jahan were fighting for the throne of Delhi, the Guru was once obliged to take out his forces, but he took good care not to shed blood. Dara Shikoh, like many other sufis, was an admirer of Sikhism, and seems to have had some personal regard for the Guru, who had once saved his life by sending him a rare medicine. Pursued by the army of Aurangzeb, Prince Dara went to Goindval, and asked the Guru to prevent his being captured. The Guru sent his men to hold the passage of the

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1. We have followed the Gurbilas of the 6th Guru, which is an earlier composition than the *Suraj Prakāsh*, which gives Māgh 1683 (January 1627 A. D.) as the date of Guru's birth.
2. Phul and Sandli, the ancestors of the Phulkian families, had already been blessed with the promise of prosperity by Guru Hargobind in 1627. Now they received the blessing of royalty (see *Twārikh Khālsā*, by Gyan Singh, 1-2, p. 958; *Encyclopaedia of Sikh Literature*, by Kahan Singh, p. 2451; *Maharaja Ala Singh*, by Karam Singh, pp. 51-52). This blessing was confirmed by Guru Gobind Singh (see *Sākhi* 103, *Travels*, translated by Sir Attar Singh).
3. *Umdatut Twārikh*, II 3.

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river Beas against the pursuing party, until the refugee prince was able to escape.

Aurangzeb did not forget this. As soon as he came to the throne he summoned the Guru to his presence.[1] The Guru did not go himself, but sent his son, Ram Rai to the court. Aurangzeb wanted to satisfy himself that there was nothing against Islam in Sikhism. He put many questions to Ram Rai. One was concerning a line in Guru Nanak's writings about the Mussalmans who said that those whose bodies were cremated after death would go to hell. It ran—

> The clay of a Musslman may find its way into the hand of a potter who makes vessels and bricks out of it. It cries out as it burns. *(Var Āsā,* vi.2)

The Emperor asked him why the Mussalmans had been thus abused in the Book. Ram Rai saved the situation by changing the wording of the line, and said the word *Mussalman* was a misquotation. It should be *be-imān* or faithless. The Emperor was pleased, and gave him a jagir in the Doon valley;[2] but the Guru was greatly pained to hear of his son's want of truth and courage. He declared him unfit[3] for the responsible position of Guruship, and made up his mind to appoint his younger son Har Krishan, instead.

Sikhism made good progress under this Guru. He appointed Bhagat Bhagwan, a Sanyasi convert, to preach Sikhism out side the Punjab in the east. The Bhai families of Kainthal and Bagrian

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1. Bakht Mal gives another reason for the summoning of the Guru, i. e., the Emperor wanted to see the Guru work miracles (see *Khālsānāma,* p. 9).
2. Bakht Mal, p. 10 The *dehrā* (or abode) round which the city of *Dehra* Dun sprang up is the headquarters of the sect founded by Ram Rai. His followers are called *Rāmrāyiās,* and by Guru Gobind Singh's injunctions are socially boycotted by baptised Sikhs.
3. Some writers allege that the reason for the rejection of Ram Rai was that he was born of a handmaid (Cunningham, p. 62). It would have been preposterous for him, as Narang says, to prefer this claim, if he had been born in that way. Really he had the same mother as Har Krishan. The story of Guru Har Rai having married seven wives, who were all sisters, is found only in one MS of *Sūraj Prakāsh,* and is written on unpaged leaves which are clearly an interpolation. Unfortunately this copy became the basis of the editions nowadays in vogue. Other copies mention only one marriage. *Mahimā Prakāsh,* which is much older than this book, also mentions only one wife. See on this point the annotation of Bhai Vir Singh on *Sūraj Prakāsh.*

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were made responsible for missionary work in the land between the Jamuna and the Satluj. Bhai Pheru was acting as the Guru's Masand in the Lamma region between the Beas and the Ravi.

After ably carrying on his ministry for about seventeen years, the Guru died at Kiratpur on October 6, 1661.

8. GURU HAR KRISHAN (1656-1664)

Guru Har Krishan was a little over five years old when he came to the *gaddi*, being born on July 7, 1656. Ram Rai had been set aside, but he did not give up hope. He attached a few Masands to his cause, and called himself Guru. His Masands went in all directions to announce his accession, but the Sikhs who knew of the late Guru's decision refused to accept him. Then Ram Rai decided to place his case before the Mughal Emperor who was kindly disposed towards him. The Emperor summoned both the parties to Delhi. Ram Rai went, but it was difficult to persuade Guru Har Krishan, who had been enjoined by his father not to see the Emperor. Mirza Raja Jai Singh[1] removed the difficulty by inviting the Guru to his own bungalow[2] at Raisina, in Delhi. The Emperor wanted to test the Guru's intelligence, of which everybody spoke so highly. The boy Guru was surrounded by the women of Jai Singh's house, including maidservants who were equally well dressed, and was asked to pick out the Rani. Guru Har Krishan looked at their faces and had no difficulty in recognising her. There are many other stories[3] showing his extraordinary sagacity. The Emperor was convinced that the choice of the last Guru was not wrong, and he dismissed the claim of Ram Rai.[4]

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1. Some of the Sikh writers, including the author of *Sūrāj Prākāsh*, have confused this Jai Singh with Jai Singh *Sawai*, who was his great-grandson.
2. The place where the Guru was lodged is still called Bangla Sahib, in New Delhi.
3. See Macauliffe, IV. 321-22. Even the choice made by Guru of his successor, passing over his own brother and uncle, shows maturity of mind.
4. Forster says, "The cause, it is said, terminated in a permission being granted to the Sikhs to nominate their own priest; when adjusting the contest, they elected Har Krishan" (*Travels*, I. 260). See also Malcolm's *Sketch*, p. 38. Ram Rai, after this, does not seem to have returned to the Panjab. He remained at Delhi, and endeavoured by every art and intrigue to effect the ruin of his rivals (Malcolm's *Sketch*, p. 39).

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But before the Guru could get away from Delhi, he was seized with high fever. This was followed by small-pox, which caused his death. While still on his death-bed, he was asked by the Sikhs to name his successor; for Ram Rai was plotting at the Mughal court, and Dhir Mal and other Sodhis were waiting for his death to put forward their claims. The Guru called for five pice and, waving his hand three times in the air, said, 'Baba Bakāle.' This meant that his successor would be found at the village of Bakala. Soon after this he breathed his last, and his body was burnt on the banks of the Jamuna, where now stands the Gurdwara of Bala Sahib. This was on March 30, 1664.

9. GURU TEGH BAHADUR (1621-1675)

Tegh Bahadur, the youngest son of Guru Hargobind, was born at *Guru-kè Mahal* in the city of Amritsar on April 1, 1621. After the death of his father he went with his mother and wife to live at Bakala, where he spent his time in retirement. He was twice passed over at the time of the Guru's appointment, for his time had not yet come. He was still meditating on the difficulties of the time and the best way out of them.

On the death of Guru Har Krishan the question arose as to who should be the Guru. The greedy relatives took advantage of the ambiguity of his last words, and flocked to the village Bakala to lay claim to the Guruship. There were many[1] such self-made Gurus as Dhir Mal. They forcibly took offerings from the unsuspecting Sikhs and made it dificult for them to discover who the real Guru was. 'Baba Bakālē', uttered by the dying Guru, clearly pointed to his *Baba* or grand-uncle living at Bakala. This could be no other than Tegh Bahadur, who stood in the relationship of a grand-uncle to Guru Har Krishan. On the occasion of the next Baisakhi, which fell in the last week of March, 1665,[2] Sikhs gathered in large numbers

1. Usually 22 *manjis* are said to have been set up by various Sodhis at Bakala (Sewa Das mentions 16). But according to Karam Singh, in his *Gurpurb Nirnai*, p. 163 fn., there could not have been so many claimants living. The figure '22' seems to have been very popular in those days, being the number of Guru Amar Das's *Manjis* and Akbar's provinces.
2. It would appear from this that there was an interregnum of one full year from 1664 to 1665. In fact the Guru came to the *gaddi* as soon as he was nominated by his predecessor, i. e. March 30, 1664.

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to see the new Guru. Led by Makhan Shah of the Lubana tribe, who was a trader by profession and was acting as a Masand[1] in Gujarat (Kathiavar), they sought out Tegh Bahadur and proclaimed him the real Guru.

Guru Tegh Bahadur was forty-four years old, when he took up the role of Guruship. He had been praying and mastering his desires, and thus he possessed great peace of mind which no pain or pleasure could disturb. One day Dhir Mal, who was burning with rage at the success of the Guru, sent one of his Masands to kill him. The Masand fired a shot at the Guru and took away all his belongings. Tegh Bahadur was wounded, but showed no anger. The Sikhs, however, led by Makhan Shah, fell upon the house of Dhir Mal and seized all his property, including that of the Guru which had been taken away. They also brought the Masand bound hand and foot to the Guru, who forgave him, and bade the Sikhs to restore to his enemy Dhir Mal all that belonged to him, even the original copy of the Granth which Guru Arjun had prepared. The Sikhs gave up everything, but showed some reluctance in returning the Holy Book which, they said, belonged to the institution of Guruship and could not be claimed as personal property by anybody. They kept it hidden with themselves, until the Guru found it out when crossing the Beas on his way to Kiratpur. He left the Book in a safe spot in the dry bed of the river, and sent word to Dhir Mal to take it away. From that day to this the Book has remained with the family of Dhir Mal at Kartarpur.

Guru Tegh Bahadur was accepted by all the Sikh congregations, but here and there some of the custodians of temples still held out, fearing in their greed that they would have to submit to a central control. When, as for example, the Guru came to Amritsar to pay his respects to the shrine of his ancestors, its doors were closed upon him, and he had to return disappointed. When he went to Kiratpur, he had to face the jealousy of Dhir Mal's party. Tired of these bickerings, he betook himself to a pleasant hillock, about five

1. See *Parchiān Sewa Das*, pp. 67b—69a. In this MS Makhan Shah is described as a Lubana and a Masand who brought one thousand rupees as collected by him for the Guru. Sukha Singh's *Gurbilās* (p.11) describes him as a trader from the South.

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miles to the north-west of Kiratpur, and purchasing a piece of land from the Raja of Kahlur for Rs. 500, founded a new town, calling it Anandpur (or the City of Peace). Even there, however, he was allowed no peace, and was forced to move out. He set out with his family on a long tour designed to foster the Sikh faith where already established and to preach its doctrine throughout lower India. He passed throughout Malva and Bangar, teaching the people to give up violence and thieving, and to live in peace with their neighbours. He caused many tanks and wells to be dug for public use. They must have been a real boon to the people of that parched region. His progress through the country created such a stir that the Mughal authorities seem to have grown suspicious of his activities, and he was hauled up before the Emperor.[1] Raja Ram Singh, son of Mirza Raja Jai Singh, explained to the Emperor that there was nothing dangerous about the Guru, who was a mere fakir. He stood surety for him, and the trouble came to an end.

The Guru proceeded towards the east, visiting Agra, Allahabad, Benares, Sasram, Gaya and Patna. On his way he came to the river Karamnash. They told him that a man who bathed there lost all his virtues. The Guru, not heeding this, bathed in the river, saying that no water could wash away the merit of good actions. At Patna he left his family, because his wife was about to be confined, and himself moved on through Monghyr to Dacca, which beside being the 'treasure-house of the Mughal Empire' was an important centre of Sikhism.

'There flourished quite a network of prosperous Sikh Sangats and monasteries all over. From Rajmahal in the west to Sylhet in the east, and from Dhubri in the north to Banskhali and Fatehkachehri in the south, there was hardly a place of importance, during the days of Mughal viceroyalty, where some Sikh temple did not exist or some Sikh ascetic had not established himself and gathered a number of followers round him. The movement had spread even to some islands like Sondip, as early as Shah Jahan's time.' 'These

1. That the Guru was arrested, put under restraint, and then released at the instance of the Kachhwaha Raja is mentioned by Forster, *Travels*, I. 260 : Malcolm's *Sketch*, p. 39; and Assamese *Buranji*, Quoted in *Shivāji Nibandhāvali*, 11, 12 (English). Cf. Bute Shah's *Tārīkh-i-Sikhān*; I. 391.

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Sangats were not only places of worship, but as usual served the useful purpose of wayside inns where food and shelter was given free to the poor and indigent weary wayfarers."[1] These Sangats had been well organised by Almast and Nathe Sahib. Dacca was the *Hazūri Sangat* or the head Sangat of these parts, with a number of others under it, and in turn was controlled by the Guru from Anandpur.[2] Beside local Sangats, there were always present a large number of Sikh merchants from the Panjab and Sind. As is evident from the letters addressed to them by Guru Tegh Bahadur, they were ever anxious to keep themselves connected with their spiritual guide, and occasionally sent offerings to him. Guru Tegh Bahadur was glad to have an opportunity of moving among them and making personal contacts with them.

Some time after his departure from Monghyr he wrote a letter[3] to the Sangat of Patna, informing them that he was 'going further on with the Rajaji', and that 'they should provide a first-class spacious building for his family.' Who was this Raja? Old Sikh chronicles, like *Sūraj Prakāsh,* mention Bishan Singh, but he was not yet, born. Later writers, like Macauliffe, have tried to correct this mistake by substituting Ram Singh, son of Mirza Raja Jai Singh; but he too did not receive orders to proceed to Assam till the end of 1667, and was able to reach Rangamati only by February, 1669. It is evident that he was not the 'Rajaji' whom Guru Tegh Bahadur accompanied on his tour to the east, which was undertaken sometime before the birth of Guru Gobind Singh, that is, before December, 1666. Some writers have begun to look for some other expedition which should synchronise with the departure of the Guru towards Dacca, and point to the possibility of the Guru have accompanied some Raja, e. g., Sabal Singh Sasodia, who went with the expedition of Shaista Khan's son, Buzurg Ummed Khan, to Chātgaon. But this too does not help, because this expedition, according to J. N. Sarkar, started from Decca on December 24, 1665, exactly a year before the birth

1. "Sikh Relics in Eastern Bengal", by G. B. Singh in the *Sikh Review,* July, 1916; *Dacca Review,* 1915 (p. 225) and 1916 (p. 377).
2. Later on (after Guru Gobind Singh) from Patna, which became one of the four *Takhts* or thrones of Sikh authority.
3. The original letter is preserved, with 9 others, at the Sikh Harimandir of Patna.

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of Guru Gobind Singh. Guru Tegh Bahadur had left his family at Patna, and did not return until some years after his son's birth. The only solution of this difficulty would be to suppose that the Guru did not go with Raja Ram Singh at this time, but he accompanied some other Raja going towards the east.

He was still in Dacca when he heard the welcome news of the birth of his son at Patna on December 26,1666. He wrote a letter of thanks to the Sangat of that place for looking after his child, Gobind Das, and his family. From this letter and others it appears that there was no prospect of his return in the near future, because he hoped that his family would continue to be looked after as before. From Dacca he carried out extensive tours in that province, and there are traces of his visits to Sylhet, Chatgaon, Sondip, Lashkar, etc.[1] In these regions he must have spent about two years.

Then he went to the north, and was preaching his mission among the Assamese, when Raja Ram Singh arrived from Delhi with an expeditionary force directed against Assam. They met at Rangamati in February, 1669. The Raja knew the fate of those who had been sent before him. What with the nasty climate and the reputed power of charms possessed by the Assamese, the venture did not hold out a very hopeful prospect. He was labouring under the impression that he had been purposely sent there to be finished off by adverse circumstances. He, therefore, to fortify himself against the Kamrup sorceries, sought the spiritual aid of the Sikh Guru, in addition to that of the five Muslim Pirs[2] whom he had brought along with him. The only part played by the Guru in this war was that during the lull of operations in 1670 he tried to bring about peace between the Mughals and the Assamese. At Dhubri on the right bank of the Brahamputra, a place once visited by Guru Nanak, he invited the soldiers of both armies to join together and filling their shields with earth to raise a mound in memory of Guru Nanak, the Prince of Peace. At the foot of the mound now there stands a Sikh temple.

1. *Dacca Review*, 1915, p. 225 fn.
2. Assamese *Buranjis*, used by S. K. Bhuyan in his paper included in *Shivaji Nibandhāvali*, II, p. 2 (English).

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The Guru seems to have spent about two years in Assam, and then for reasons not known so far to history he had to hurry back.[1] Evidently the Hindus and Sikhs, as a result of Aurangzeb's policy, were passing through very hard times. He could not stay away from his people when they were suffering. He felt that his place was with them. He went back to the Panjab, leaving his son in the safe keeping of his family and friends at Patna.

On his return he found the people terrorised by the new policy of religious persecution launched by Aurangzeb. The general order,[2] issued by the Emperor to his governors in 1669, that all the temples and schools of the Hindus should be demolished, was having its effect. The Sikhs too, as Khafi Khan tells us, came in for their share. Their leaders were being externed, and their temples destroyed.[3] The Guru spent some time in thinking of his future plans. He wanted to do something which would shame the rules into reason and rouse the people out of their lethargy.

In the meantime he sent for his family from Patna. His son, Gobind Das, had grown a stripling boy of great promise. 'He gave him instruction of different kinds,'[4] and made him fit in every way to take his place. One day, seeing his father lost in thought, young Gobind asked him the reason. The Guru said, 'India is in the terrible grip of the foreigner. It can be saved only if a great soul were to sacrifice himself. But where to find such a person?' The child, who was only nine years old, replied, ' For this purpose, dear father, who is more worthy than you?'[5] Hearing this the Guru was satisfied that he had found a worthy successor in his son.

He started on a tour in 1673, exhorting people to give up all fear and to face tyranny with resolute calmness. His motto was : 'Frighten not, and fear not' *(Shloka* 16). At Saifabad, in the present state of Patiala, he converted one Saifud Din to Sikhism. He won the devotion of another Mohammedan, a Pathan of Garhi, near

1. This hurry is reflected in a letter of the Guru preserved in the Patna temple.
2. *Maasir-i-Ālamgirī* (Urdu, p. 54); Orme's *Fragment,* 85.
3. *Muntakhibul Lubāb,* II, 651-52; also Sarkar's *Aurangzeb,* III. 354.
4. *Vichitra Natak,* vii. This and another reminiscence recorded by Guru Gobind Singh in *Pākhyāno Charitra,* xxi. 51, show that young Gobind did live for some years with his father.
5. Sukha Singh's *Gurbilas,* v. 15.

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Samana. He passed through Malva and the south-eastern Panjab, heartening the people—some of them his own Masands who would avoid him out of the fear of official harassment—and attaching them to himself by providing *baolis* and wells for their use.

During these travels, which lasted for about two years, the Guru moved with a large following, which changed from place to place according to the number of Sikhs living in the vicinity, and received the homage of the people along with many offerings. These proceedings, though usual with every Guru, were misrepresented by the local newswriters as 'forcible exactions', and it was feared that the Guru might gather strength enough to prove a danger to the state. The Emperor ordered the arrest[1] of the Guru who was found at Agra and brought to Delhi. He was thrown into prison, and closely guarded. He was called upon to embrace Islam,[2] which he refused to do. One of his companions, Bhai Mati Das was sawn alive; three others escaped. He himself was put in chains. In this condition he

1. The reason for the Guru's arrest, as given by the Sikh chronicles, was that he had taken up the cause of the Kashmir Hindus who were being persecuted by Aurangzeb (see Macauliffe, IV. 371-72). This is supported by Guru Gobind Singh's words quoted at the end of this chapter. Malcolm and Cunningham, however, give a different reason. Basing their allegations on a very wrong translation of *Siyar-ul-Mutaakhirin* (p. 401) by Raymond (p. 85) who is mostly followed by Briggs (I. 112-113), they accuse the Guru of living on plunder and making a common cause with a Mohammedan zealot, named Hafiz Adam. in extorting money from Hindus as his colleague did from Muslims (as if robbers ever made communal distinction between their victims !). A look at the original reveals that there is nothing like it in the text, which simply says that "Tegh Bahadur gathering many disciples became powerful, and thousands of people accompanied him. A contemporary of his, Hafiz Adam, who was a fakir belonging to the order of Sheikh Ahmed Sarhindi, had gathered about him a great multitude of followers. Both of these took to the practice of levying forcible exactions, and moved about in the land of the Panjab. Tegh Bahadur took money from Hindus and Hafiz Adam from Mussalmans. The royal newswriters wrote to the Emperor that two fakirs, one Hindu and the other Muslim named so-and-so, had taken to that practice. It would not be strange if, with the increase of their influence, they created trouble." There is nothing here to justify the words : 'he subsisted himself and his disciples by plunder'. Bute Shah also refers to the same complaint in his *Tārikh-i-Panjab* I. 393.
2. Ijad, quoted by Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I. 79 fn.: Sewa Das's *Parchis*, p. 83; Bute Shah, p. 393.

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wrote a letter to his son at Anandpur, saying :

My strength is exhausted; I am in chains; and have no resource left.
God alone is my refuge now; He will succour me; as He did the elephant [in the classical story].
My associates and companions have all abandoned me; no one has remained with me to the last.
In this calamity God alone is my support.[1]

To this he received the following reply from his son :

Strength is there; your fetters are loosed; every resource is at hand.
Nanak, everything is within your power, it is only you who can assist yourself.[2]

This reply very much heartened the Guru about the future of his country, and nominating Gobind Das as his successor, he made himself ready to face death. He declared his belief that—

When Guru Gobind is there, the Lord's Name and His saints will flourish.[3]

He refused to perform any miracles to appease his persecutors. In the beginning of November, 1675, another order arrived from the Emperor, and the Guru was publicly beheaded on the 11th in the Chandani Chauk[4] of Delhi. Guru Gobind Singh recorded the event of his father's death in his *Vichitra Nātak* in the following words :

Thus did the Master protect the frontal mark and the sacrificial thread of the Hindus;
Thus did he bring about a great event in this dark age.
He did so much for God's people,
Giving up his life without uttering a groan.
He suffered martyrdom for the sake of religion,
Laying down his head without surrendering his principles.
God's people feel shame.
In performing miracles which are mere tricks of mountebanks and cheats.
Breaking his potsherd on the head of the Delhi king, he departed to the city of God.

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1. *Shlokas* 53 and 55 of Guru Tegh Bahadur.
2. This is the only couplet of Guru Gobind Singh in the Holy Granth.
3. *Sholka* 56 of Guru Tegh Bahadur.
4. The place where the Guru was beheaded is called *Sis Ganj*, where a Gurdwara was raised by S. Baghel Singh Karorsinghia in 1790.

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Nobody ever did such a thing as he.
At his departure a wail went forth from the denizens of the earth.
And hail ! all-hail ! was heard from heaven.

10. GURU GOBIND SINGH (1666-1708)

Guru Gobind, called Guru Gobind Singh after the institution of Sikh baptism, was only nine years old, when his father was martyred in Delhi. The effect of the blow was very staggering at first. No body from the high-class Sikhs came forward to claim the dismembered body of Guru Tegh Bahadur for the purpose of cremation. Only a Lubana Sikh, with a few tribesmen, eluding the vigilance of guards, took the headless trunk in a cart to his hut[1] outside the city, and burnt it with all his belongings, in order to make out that it was an accident. One Jaita,[2] a Ranghreta Sikh, belonging to the sweeper class, took up the head of the Guru and hurried away with it to Anandpur, where he presented it to the Guru's son. Guru Gobind Singh, who was a mere child, was touched with the extreme devotion of the Ranghreta, and flinging his arms round his neck declared, 'Here I embrace, through you, all the Ranghretas as the Guru's own sons.'[3] He was very sorry to learn, however, that at the time of trial very few Sikhs, with the exception of the immediate followers, had shown the courage of their convictions. When questioned by the officials as to whether they were Sikhs, they had the weakness to deny their religion. The Guru saw in this the danger of a backsliding among the Sikhs. He vowed therefore that he would make it impossible for the Sikhs to hide their creed in future, even if they were among thousands, by giving them some distinguishing marks.[4]

He retired for some years to the Himalayan hills in the state of Nahan, where on the land offered by the ruler he founded a fort called Paonta. There sitting on the beautiful banks of the Jamuna,

1. The place was in the suburban village of Rikab Ganj, and is marked by a Gurdwara of the same name erected by S. Baghel Singh in 1790.
2. *Panth Parkāsh*, by Gyan Singh, xix. 15. According to the *Twārikh Guru Khālsā* by the same author, Jaita became Jiwan Singh, when baptised, and died fighting in the battle of Chamkaur.
3. The actual words of the Guru were : *Ranghrètè Guru kè bètè* (Ranghretas are the Guru's own sons). See *Parchian* by Sewa Das, p. 88b; *Umdātut Twārikh*, 50.
4. *Prakāsh, Rut I, ansu* vii (8-11).

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he thought of the way to free his countrymen from the bonds of sin and suffering. He applied himself closely to self-education. As a child he had Behari on his tongue, and had learnt Gurmukhi from his mother. His father, as he himself says in his autobiography called *Vichitra Natak*,'had given him instruction of various kinds'. He had learnt Persian[1] from a Mohammedan teacher, named Pir Mohammed, whose descendants still possess an autograph letter given to their ancestor by the Guru. Now at Paonta he went through the whole range of epic literature in Sanskrit, and learnt to compose poetry in Hindi and Punjabi. In Panjabi he wrote only a few pieces, including an ode in blank verse on Chandi or Durga, whom he presents as a mighty heroine breaking the skulls and drinking the blood of *Mahkhasur* and other demons. In Hindi he developed a style, which for martial cadence, variety of form and richness of imagination, spreading itself out into similes drawn from life as well as from old familiar literature,[2] has remained unsurpassed since his times. In lines ranging from monosyllabic verse to long and multipedic *swayyas* and *kabits*, we seem to hear the torrential flow of hill streams or the galloping sweep of cavalry on the march. His intellect quivers in emotion and breaks out against superstition and hypocrisy into humour, irony, or banter. His emotion, often intellectualised by the memory of wrongs done by the past, is raised to the highest pitch of ecstasy when he communes with God. In his *Akal Ustat* (lxix, 19—lxx. 20), when he comes to address the Divine Being, he loses himself in the word *Tuhi* (Thou), which he repeats sixteen times. They say he remained absorbed in the contemplation of the epithet for fully sixteen hours.

While going through the Puranic literature, he had been deeply impressed by the idea that God had been sending a saviour from time to time uphold righteousness and to destroy evil. From his

1. Guru Gobind Singh's proficiency in Persian is evident from his works like *Zafarnāma*, in which he found quoting from Saadi and Firdausi. The texts of the *Zafarnāma* and the *Hikāyāt* have been much mutiluted through transcriptions into and from Gurmukhi.
2. As for instance, in *Vichitrā Nātāk*, viii. 7, we read : 'Mahunt Kirpal raged, and lifting his mace smote the stubborn Hayat Khan on the head, from which bubbled forth his brains as butter from the milkmaid's vessel broken by Krishna.

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early days he had a feeling that he himself was the man required by the times. In his *Vichitra Natak* (vi. 29, 42—43), he declared that God had commissioned him 'to advance righteousness, to emancipate the good, and to destroy all evil-doers root and branch.' while believing, however, in his heaven-ordained mission he took care to see that his followers did not fall into the old Hindu weakness of deifying their leader. He emphatically asserted that he was human, and that to pay divine honours to him would be blasphemous :

Whoever says I am the Lord,
Shall fall into the pit of hell.
Recognise me as God's servant only.
Have no doubt whatever about this.
I am a servant of the Supreme,
A beholder of the wonders of His creation.[1]

He placed literary activity in the forefront of his programme of national reconstruction. He translated the old stories of Indian heroes, as found in the Puranas, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, and engaged fifty-two poets to help him in this heavy task.[2] The keynote of this vast literature, some of which is preserved in the Dasam Granth,[3] is optimism, freedom from superstition, and

1. *Vichitra Nātak*, vi 32-33.
2. In order to wrest the monopoly of learning from the priestly class, he sent a few chosen Sikhs to Benares to study Sanskrit. On their return they proved very useful to the Guru in the literary work he had undertaken. They were called Nirmalas. Their account may be read in the *Nirmal Panth Pradipka*, by Gyan Singh, 1891.
3. Most of the literature produced by the Guru and his poets was lost during the exodus from Anandpur in the winter of 1704. That which remained was put together in one volume by Bhai Mani Singh in 1734, twenty-six years after the Guru's death. When Bhai Mani Singh was martyred in 1738, a dispute arose about the desirability of keeping together all the contents of the book in one volume. The question was referred to the Sikh divines at Damdama Sahib, Talvandi Sabo. The discussion being prolonged a shortcut was found by which the decision of this literary problem was made to depend on the fate of a military expedition. Bhai Mehtab Singh of Mirankot was then rushing to Amritsar to avenge the desecration of the Golden Temple at the hands of Massa Ranghar. It was agreed that if he returned successful, the volume of the Dasam Granth would be kept intact, otherwise it would be divided into two parts, one containing spiritual and the other secular contents. He was successful in killing Massa and returning alive. So the book was left as it was, and was named *Daswān Pādashāh kā Granth*.

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strong faith in the oneness of God and of all humanity. Here are a few specimens :

Since I have embraced Thy feet, I have paid homage to none besides. Ram and Rahim, the Purans and the Quran express various opinions, but I accept none of them.

The Smritis, the Shastras and the Vedas speak of many mysteries, but I recognise none of them.

—*Rāmāvtār*, 863.

* * * * * *

Why call Shiva God, and why speak of Brahma as God ?

God is not Ram Chandra, Krishna, or Vishnu, whom ye suppose to be the Lords of the world.

Shukdev, Prashar and Vyas erred in abandoning the one God to worship many gods.

All have set up false religions. I verily believe that there is but one God.

—*Thirty-three Swayyās*, xv

* * * * * *

I am the son of a brave man, not of a Brahmin :

How can I perform austerities?

How can I turn my attention to Thee, O Lord, and yet forsake domestic duties? —*Krishnāvtār*

* * * * * *

God is not concerned with celestial appearances or with omens;

He is not appeased by incantations, written or spoken, or by charms

—*Twenty-four Avtārs*

* * * * * *

Hear ye all, I declare this truth :

Only those who practise love obtain the Lord. —*Swayyās*

* * * * * *

Recognise all human race as one.

* * * * * *

The temple and the mosque are the same; the Hindu and the Muslim forms of worship are the same; all men are the same, although they appear different under different local influences.

The bright and the dark, the ugly and the beautiful, the Hindus and the Muslims have developed themselves according to the fashions of different countries.

All have the same eyes, the same ears, the same body and the same build—a compound of the same four elements. —*Akal Ustat*

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His Purpose[1] in creating this literature was to infuse a new spirit among his followers and to steel their hearts against all injustice and tyranny. The tyranny that then prevailed in the country was not only political but religious as well. If some of the rulers subjected the people to certain disabilities and hardships, the Brahmins and Mullas, where they were concerned, were no less cruel in keeping millions of their countrymen in a sort of religious bondage. If the political rulers were treating the subject people like so many vermin, their religious leaders were doing no less in looking down upon so many of their fellowmen as untouchables. The political tyranny was discriminate and occasional, but the religious tyranny was indiscrimate and continuous, being practised everyday in kitchens, at village wells, in temples and hundreds of other places of mutual resort. It was more heinous than any other crime. Guru Gobind Singh says :

> The sins committed in the name of religion are such as to put even greatest sins to the blush.

In order to fit himself for the coming struggle, he practised every form of manly exercise, such as riding, hunting, swimming, archery and sword-play. He also boldly fought with the hill chiefs when they gave him trouble. His increasing influence had excited their jealousy and fear, and headed by Bhim Chand of Kahlur they came to attack him. They won over 500 Pathans whom he had employed on the advice of his friend Sayyed Budhu Shah of Sadhaura. An equal number of Udasis also deserted him; only Mahant Kirpal, their leader, stood by him. Budhu Shah, however, made up for the desertion of the Pathans by joining the forces of the Guru himself along with his four sons and 700 disciples. The Guru, thus reinforced, forestalled his enemies by marching out to Bhangani, about six miles from Paonta, and defeated them in a sanguinary battle which took place towards the end of February,

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1. 'I have', he says, 'cast the tenth section of Bhagwat into Hindi with no other object than to inspire ardour for religious warfare. '—*Krishnāvtār*. He adds such editorial comments in the case of all his compositions which glorified the heroic deeds of Avtars or god and goddesses. See *Twenty four Avtārs*, 7-22, and *Rāmāvtār*, 863-864.

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1686.[1] The Guru, without following up his victory with any political advantage, returned to Anandpur, where he built four forts—Anandgarh, Lohgarh, Keshgarh and Fatehgarh—to keep the hill states in check.

A few months later his wife, Sundari, gave birth to a son, who was named Ajit Singh. His other sons were born of Jito[2] in the following order : Jujhar Singh in 1690. Zoravar Singh in 1696, and Fateh Singh in 1699.

The attempt of the Delhi government to collect tribute from the hill chiefs led some of them to change sides and seek help from the Guru in opposing the payment. Alif Khan, a military commander, had been sent by Mian Khan, governor of Jammu, to make the demand, and Bhim Chand had refused to submit. The Guru was a subject of Kahlur, and as such was called upon to support the cause of the state and its allies, who had decided to repudiate the long-neglected claim. He agreed to take part in the struggle which he considered national. A battle was fought at Nadaun,[3] which is described in stirring verse by Guru Gobind Singh. It ended in the success of the allies. 'A desultory warfare ensued; some attempts

1. Sukha Singh's *Gurbilas* gives 1689 as the year of this battle, but there seems to be an error in it. The *Sūraj Prakāsh* says that, nine months after the return of the Guru from Paonta to Anandpur, his first son, Ajit Singh, was born. The date of Ajit Singh's birth is accepted on all hands to be *Māgh sudi* 4, 1743 Bk. (Nov. 9, 1686). This would place the battle in the month of February, 1686. Further evidence may be adduced from a letter of appreciation given by the Guru to Pir Budhu Shah of Sadhaura. This letter is dated *Phagun sudi* 12, 1742 Bk., which corresponds to Feb. 25, 1686. This letter must have been given soon after the battle.
2. She died in January 1701, and the same year a Sikh from Rohtas (Distt. Jhelum) offered the hand of his daughter, Sahib Devi, to the Guru, who refused to accept her because he already had a wife. He was, however, prevailed upon to take her into wedlock, she agreeing to remain a virgin all her life. She is always referred to as *a kaṇvārā dolā* (virgin wife) in Sikh and non-Sikh literature. See Attar Singh's *Travels of Guru Tegh Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh*, p. 90; Sunam Gurparnali, under Tenth Guru; Kesar Singh's *Bansavali-nama*, p. 110; and Chaturman's *Chahar Gulshan*, p. 141a. She is called the mother of the Khalsa.
3. See *Vichitra Nāṭak*, ix; *Gur Sobhā*, iv, *Sūrāj Prakāsh* shows that Aurangzeb was at that time busy in the Deccan subduing Golkanda, i. e., about 1687, which must be the date of this battle. Cf. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xii. 309.

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at accommodation were made by the hill chiefs, but they were broken off, and the expendition[1] ended in the rout of the Mohammedans.'

The success of Guru Gobind Singh—for all was attributed to him—caused some anxiety to the Emperor, who had already sent a warning[2] to the Guru not to assemble his Sikhs. Now he sent his son, Prince Muazzim, afterwards known as Bahadur Shah, to manage the affairs of the Panjab which were in disorder. The Prince himself took his position at Lahore, and sent Mirza Beg with a force to chastise the Guru and the Rajas. The Rajas were severely punished, but the Guru was left alone through the intercession of a Sikh, Bhai Nand Lal,[3] who was a secretary to the Prince and had influence with both the parties. He seems to have brought about some kind of understanding between the Government and the Guru who made the following significant statement recorded in the *Vichitra Natak* (xiii. 9)

> The House of Baba [Nanak] and of Babar
> Both derive their authority from God Himself,
> Recognise the former as supreme in religion,
> And the latter supreme in secular affairs.

The Guru was given some respite to think and to mature his future plans. He had worked among the people of the semi-independent states of the Shivaliks, and had tried to rouse them to a sense of national unity, but he soon discovered that, being steeped in superstition and old ideas of religion, they could not rise above their caste and racial prejudices to combine for any national purpose.

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1. It is called *Hussaini Yudh* by Guru Gobind Singh, because it was fought against Hussain Khan, a general of Dilawar Khan, governor of Kangra. It may be dated 1695.
2. *Akhbārāt-i-Darbār-i-Muallā* (R. A. S., London),, Vol. I, 1677-1695 : '1693, November 20 : News from Sarhind—Gobind declares himself to be Guru Nanak. Faujdars ordered to prevent him from assembling (his Sikhs).'
3. A great scholar of Persian and Arabic, born in Multan in 1633, became a Sikh of the Guru in 1682 and, after serving with prince Muazzim as his Mir Munshi for some years, came away to Anandpur, where he identified himself with the mission of the Guru. He died at Multan in 1705. His following works in Persian are read with great reverence, paralleled only by that paid to the writings of Bhai Gurdas : *Zindaginamā, Tausif-o-Sanā, Ganjnāmā, Jot Bigās, Divān Goyā, Inshā Dastūr, Arz-ul-Ilfāz, Khātimā.* His pen-name was 'Goyā.'

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Sometimes they would make a common cause with the enemy and combine even against him, their deliverer, as Bhim Chand and others had done in the Hussaini War. Political reform must be preceded by a general renaissance and religious awakening. He therefore resolved to break the old shackles with greater precision than had been done before and to reorganise society on the basis of common belief and common aspirations. In doing so he did not depart in any way from the principles taught by his predecessors. Rather he built on the foundations laid by them. 'Gobind himself, in fact, as well as his work, was the natural product of the process of evolution that had been going on ever since the foundation of Sikhism. The harvest which ripened in the time of Guru Gobind Singh had been sown by Nanak and watered by his successors. The sword which craved the Khalsa's way to glory was, undoubtedly, forged by Gobind, but the steel had been provided by Nanak.'[1] He considered the mission of all his predecessors to be one and the same, and his own as its consummation. 'The generality of men,' he says, 'take them as different from one another; very few recognise them as one in spirit. But only those realise perfection who do recognise them as one.'[2] The apparent differences which some writers[3] see in their objectives were due only to the local and occasional circumstances, and did not show any departure from the original design. The Gurus, as for example, did intend to abolish the caste system. We cannot imagine Guru Nanak saying with his tongue in his cheek that 'caste is nonsense' *(Sri Rag)* and that 'nobody should be asked his caste' *(Asa)*. Still it did not die out completely. The reason is not far to seek. It takes two parties to effect a reform : the reformer and the party to be reformed. The Guru knew what sort of material they had to handle. The corruption which had taken centuries to gather could not be eradicated at once. The difficulty of the task may be gauged from the fact that Islam and Christianity too, with much

1. Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, p. 25.
2. *Vichitra Nāṭak*, v. 9. See also Bhai Nand Lal's *Jot Bigās*, and *Sikhism*, by Teja Singh, pp. 26-27.
3. E. g., Indubhusan Banerjee in his *The Evolution of the Khalsa*, I. 114-145, says, that the earlier Gurus, particularly Guru Nanak, never meant to attack the institutions of caste, sacred thread or holy pilgrimages.

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bigger resources, have tried to break this steelframe, but who can say that they have succeeded? The Sikh Gurus did make a headway in the beginning, when hosts of Mohammedans and low-caste people were assimilated in the fold of Sikhism. But when the forces released by Sikhism brought on religious persecution by the Mughals, the Sikhs and Hindus found themselves in the same boat; and, as would happen in such cases, they had to club their resources together, and to suspend all their intercommunal controversies. The caste system could not be broken in these circumstances, although its pride which was a hindrance in the way of true religion was totally removed. The Jats who were considered Sudras enjoyed the greatest prestige along with the Khatris, and the Brahmins were no longer held in esteem. 'All the four varnas were equalised.' (Bhai Gurdas).

It was reserved for Guru Gobind Singh to cut at the root of all such institutions as hindered the unification and consolidation of the nation, and to rear a self-contained[1] and compact body of men who would be pure enough to free themselves from the oppression of priests and rulers, and would at the same time be strong enough to maintain this freedom. He was advised by some learned Pandits that he could attain his object by propitiating Durga the Goddess of Power. He was the last man to believe in gods and goddesses, as may be judged from his writings;[2] but to disillusion[3] the people he invited Pandit Kesho from Benares to conduct the ceremony on

1. That the Guru tried to separate the Sikhs from the Hindus is clear from Nur Mohammed's *Jangnāmā* (Ganda Singh's translation, pp. 58-59); *Siyarul-Mutaakhirin*, p. 400; Malcolm's *Sketch*, p. 51; *History of the Sikhs* (Calcutta, 1846), p. 121; *History of the Panjab* (Allen & Co.), 1845, I. 107.
2. Some people refer to *Bhagauti-ki-Vār* in the Dasam Granth as a piece in praise of the goddess Durga. But if we look into the *Var* we find that Bhagauti is described as the creator of *Durgā*, Brahma, Shiva, Rama, Krishna, etc. It could not be Durga therefore. In the story of Chandi, the goddess is not once named Bhaguati. In the writings of the Guru, the word *Bhaguati* means the sword or God, and God is often addressed at the sword. The Guru is very clearly against the worship of gods and goddesses. He says, 'I don't worship any creature; I adore only the Creator' (*Shabad Hazare*). 'I do not propitiate Ganesh; I never meditate on Krishna or Vishnu; I have heard of them, but I know them not. It is only God's feet I love' (*Krishnāvtār*).
3. See Rose's *Glossary*, p. 720.

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the hill of Nainadevi. When all the *ghee* and incense had been burnt, and the Pandit had tried himself out by mumbling mantras by the million without being able to produce the goddess, the Guru came forward with a naked sword and, flashing it before the assembly, declared : 'This is the goddess of power !'

On the Baisakhi day, March 30 of 1699, he called a big meeting at Anandpur. When all were seated, he drew out his sword and cried, 'Is there anyone here who would lay down his life for dharma?' At this the whole assembly was thrown into consternation; but the Guru went on repeating his demand. At the third call, Daya Ram, a Khatri of Lahore, rose from his seat and offered himself. The Guru took him into an adjoining enclosure, where a few goats were kept tied, and seating him there cut off a goats head. He came out with the dripping weapon and flourishing it before the multitude asked again, 'Is there any other Sikh here who will offer himself as a sacrifice?' At this Dharam Das, a Jat of Delhi, came forward and was taken into the enclosure, where another goat was killed. In the same way three other men stood up one after another and offered themselves for the sacrifice. One was Muhkam Chand, a washerman of Dwarka; another was Himmat, a cook of Jagannath; and the third was Sahib Chand, a barber of Bedar. The Guru after dressing the five in handsome clothes brought them before the assembly. He baptised them with sweetened water stirred with a dagger and called them his Beloved Ones. Then he spoke at length on his mission, and, according to Bute Shah and Ahmed Shah Batalia, is reported to have said, among other things :

> I wish you all to embrace one creed and follow one path, obliterating all differences of religion. Let the four Hindu castes, who have different rules laid down for them in the Shastras, abandon them altogether and, adopting the way of co-operation, mix freely with one another. Let no one deem himself superior to another. Do not follow the old scriptures. Let none pay heed to the Ganges and other places of pilgrimage which are considered holy in the Hindu religion, or adore the Hindu deities, such as Rama, Krishna, Brahma and Durga, but all should believe in Guru Nanak and his successors. Let men of the four castes receive my baptism, eat out of the same vessel, and feel no

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disgust or contempt for one another.[1]

When the Guru had administered baptism[2] to his five tried Sikhs he stood up before them with folded hands, and begged them to baptise him in the same way as he had baptised them.[3] They were astonished at such a strange request, but he silenced them by saying that he too wanted to be one of them, that as he was their Guru, they collectively should be his Guru. After this there remained on difference between him and his baptised Sikhs. They were to be his Khalsa,[4] his embodiment, nay, his other self, his beloved Ideal (*isht suhird*),[5] and therefore, quite competent to take his place after him. Thenceforth the ceremony of conversion to Sikhism was to be conducted by a commission of five Beloved Ones.

About 80,000 men were baptised in a few days. He also ordered[6] that all those who called themselves Sikhs should get themselves confirmed by receiving the new baptism. Those who still stood out in opposition to his mission—such as Minas, Dhirmalias and Ramraiyas—were ostracised and their company was forbidden to the true Sikhs. Those who partook of the ceremony were taught

1. Bute Shah, pp. 405-406: Ahmed Shah's supplement to Sohan Lal's *Umdātut Twārikh*, p. 5. We read in the *Sākhi* No. 85 of the *Travels*, translated by Sir Attar Singh, that the Guru, while getting a man named Dyal Singh baptised, had a sweeper among the five beloved Ones who administered the ceremony. When once the Guru was asked about his caste, he replied that he was of the third caste 'Khalsa' (*Sākhī Book*, p. 106). Conversion of Mohammedans is mentioned in *Travels*, translated by Sir Attar Singh, *Sakhī* No. 69. See also *Sūraj Prakāsh*, I. xviii.
2. For fuller details of this ceremony, see *Sikhism*, by Teja Singh, pp. 113-118.
3. Bute Shah, I. 407-408.
4. He who keeps alight the unquenchable torch of truth, and never swerves from the thought of one God; he who has full love and confidence in God and does not put his faith, even by mistake, in fasting or the graves of Muslim saints, Hindu crematoriums, or Jogis' places of sepulchre; he who recognises the one God and no pilgrimages, alms-giving, non-destruction of life, penances, or austerities; and in whose heart the light of the Perfect One shines,—he is to be recognised as a pure member of the *Khalsa*'—33 *Swayyās*.
5. *Sarb Loh*.
6. "The Guru sent orders to the following effect to all the Sangats wherever they were : The Sikhs should come to me wearing long hair. Once a man becomes a Sikh, he should never shave himself. He should not touch tobacco, and should receive baptism of the sword "—*Sūraj Prakāsh*, iii. 21. See also *Gur Sobhā*, v.

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to believe in One Invisible God and the mission of the Ten Gurus. God came to be addressed as *All-Steel,* and His worshippers were to wear steel about their person in some form or other. They were instructed to lead clean lives and to avoid all strong drinks. Particularly they were to shun the use of tobacco, which besides being injurious to health makes one lazy. They were to wear the same signs, all beginning with the letter K : long hair (*kesh*), a comb (*kangha*), a pair of shorts (*kacchha*), an iron bracelet (*kara*), and a sword (*kirpan*). They were to have a common surname, *Singh* or lion. Bravery as much as peace and purity, was to be their religion. The cows of Guru Nanak's time had thus become lions, and there was no longer a danger of their being eaten by devouring beasts (see *ante,* p. 13.) 'I shall send a sparrow,' said the Guru, 'and lo ! the imperial hawks shall fall before it.'

The greatest lever used by the Guru in uplifting his people was self-respect and human dignity. The Sikhs used to be domineered by the Masands. Guru Gobind Singh freed his followers from the demeaning influence of these men, who had gradually degenerated into mere parasites, by abolishing their order and declaring them ostracised. The ceremony of initiation, as we have seen, was modified to suit the changed circumstances. The water used in baptism, instead of being touched with the Guru's toe, was now to be stirred with a double-edged dagger. The mode of salutation was also changed. Instead of touching one another's feet, as was the custom before, the Sikhs were to fold their hands in front and hail each other as 'the Purified Ones of the wonderful Lord who is always victorious.' The Guru began to celebrate the Holi festival in his own way. He called it Hola Mahalla. On the day following the Hindu festival he held a military parade of all his Sikhs, who came out in their best and went through a sort of mimic battle. The Khalsa was inspired by a sense of divine mission to right the wrongs of the world; and, in the discharge of his duties, no fear of earthly power was to stand in his way. Such was his confidence in the strength of his righteous cause that each Sikh called himself a unit of one lakh and a quarter. Even now one might occasionally meet a Sikh who would annouce his arrival as the advent of a host of a hundred and twenty-five thousand.

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The Guru himself recognised the worth and dignity of his nation, and would always refer to the assembly of Sikhs with great respect and admiration. It was in these terms he once spoke of his followers: 'It is through *them* that I have gained my experience; with *their* help have I subdued my enemies. Through *their* favour am I exalted; otherwise there are millions of ordinary men like me whose lives are of no account,'[1] 'Let him who wishes to see me go to an assembly of Sikhs and approach them with faith and reverence; he will surely see me among them.'[2] Although a leader, he nevertheless considered himself a servant of his people : 'To serve them,' he said, 'pleases my heart; no other service is so dear to my soul. All the substance in my house, nay, my, soul and body are at their disposal.'

Guru Gobind Singh, through his baptism, poured his life into his Sikhs, and invested them with his own personality. There was about him a stern olympian air, which he imparted to his followers. His impress not only elevated and altered the constitution of their minds, but—contrary to the experience of ethnological experts—it also operated materially and gave amplitude to their physical frames.[3] They came to be regarded as models of physical beauty and stateliness of manner. A tremendous change was effected in the whole tone of national character. Even those people who had been considered as dregs of humanity were changed, as if by magic, into something rich and strange. The sweepers, barbers and confectioners, who had never so much as touched the sword and whose whole generations had lived as grovelling slaves of the so-called higher classes, became, under the stimulating leadership of Guru Gobind Singh, doughty warriors who never shrank from fear and who were ready to rush into the jaws of death at the bidding of their Guru.

The aim of Guru Gobind Singh in founding the Khalsa was to build up a nation of the Purified Ones who would be free from the evils of religion and society. But the rulers of the time thought, he

1. *Dasam Granth*, p. 645.
2. *Prem Sumārg; Rahtnāmā* of Prahlad Singh.
3. Burne's *Travels*, i. 285, and ii. 39; Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, p. 84; Elphinstone's *History of India*, ii. 56.

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was organising a force to attack and destroy them.[1] Anandpur was in the land of Kahlur, surrounded by other hill states. The Hindu rajas of those states saw in the activities of the Guru a threat to their own religion and power, and the Raja of Kahlur sent him a letter asking him to quit his state or to pay him a tribute as a sign of submission. The Guru refused to do so, and war began.

The hill chiefs had already fought against him, and knew his strength. They appealed to the emperor of Delhi for help. Aurangzeb was at that time in the Deccan. He ordered the Viceroys of Sarhind and Lahore[2] to march against the Guru. They attacked Anandpur in 1701. The Sikhs fought as they had never fought before, and held their ground for three years against the repeated attacks of the Hindu and Muslim armies, but all supplies being cut off, they were put to great hardships by hunger and thirst. Some of them felt that they could hold out no longer. There were signs of discontent among them. The Guru asked them to declare themselves. Forty of them signed a 'disclaimer' and were allowed to go away. The remaining chose to share the lot of their leader. The Guru's mind was as firm as ever, but the sight of the suffering Khalsa and the solemn promises of the enemy for a safe exit moved him to leave the town, which he did in the winter of 1704.

As soon as he came out, however, he was set upon by a large force on the banks of the Sarsa. There was hard fighting in the darkness and rain; and when the day dawned over the dead and the dying, the Guru was still unperturbed. He held the morning service just as usual, and in the midst of the booming of guns and the hissing of arrows he quietly sang the praises of God. In the confusion that ensued, all the Guru's baggage, including some very precious

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1. The Guru had inaugurated a new system for the estblishment of religion, the effacement of sin and for the meditation of God's name. The world on seeing the third religion was wonderstruck; but the enemies apprehended that it would deprive them of their sovereignty'—*Sūraj Prakāsh*, III. xix. 44.
2. One of the commanders from Lahore, named Said Beg, happened to see the Guru, and was won over by his magnetic personality. He threw away his sword, and vowed never to use it against the Sikhs again. See *Sakhi Book*, p. 59; *Sūraj Prakāsh*, V. xxxii. (16-36). Afterwards he fought and died on the side of the Guru. There were other Mohammedans too. like Maimu Khan, who fought for the Guru.

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manuscripts, was lost in the waves of the Sarsa. The Guru was separated from a part of his family, but he was able to make his way to Chamkaur, in the district of Ambala.

His two younger sons, Zoravar Singh and Fateh Singh, with their grandmother, Gujari, took shelter with an old servant of theirs. This fellow betrayed them to the nearest official at Morinda, who handed them over to Wazir Khan, the governor of Sarhind. Wazir Khan cruelly put the children to death,[1] in spite of the protests of the Nawab of Malerkotla.[2] The grand-mother of the children could not survive the shock given by their death, and fell down dead as soon as she heard the news.

The Guru was followed to Chamkaur, where he was besieged. The faithful little band of forty,[3] with only a mud wall to protect them, fought against thousands to the last. Both the remaining sons of the Guru, and three of the Beloved Ones, were slain. Only five Sikhs were left to defend the place. They persuaded the Guru to go away and save himself. He did so in disguise.

The story of his wanderings is a romance of hair-breadth escapes, of days spent in trudging bare-footed in the thorny wilds of Machhivara, and of cold nights passed staring under the twinkling stars of heaven. For days he had nothing to eat but tender leaves of the Akk plant, and had nothing but a clod of earth to rest his head on. He was found lying thus, with torn clothes and blistered feet, by two Pathans, Nabbi Khan and Ghani Khan. They knew that the

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1. There is a difference about the names of the Guru's sons who were killed at Chamkaur and those executed at Sarhind. The consensus of opinion is that Ajit Singh and Jujhar Singh, the elder sons, who could accompany the Guru to the battle-field, died fighting at Chamkaur on Dec. 22, 1704; and Zoravar Singh and Fateh Singh, the younger ones, were carried to Sarhind, where they were tortured and bricked up alive, and finally beheaded on Dec. 27, 1704. That the boys met their death by being bricked up in a wall is a later version, and appeared for the first time in *Singh Sagar*, by Vir Singh of Patiala (1827). We have followed the earlier versions of Kesar Singh (1780), Sukha Singh (1797) and Rattan Singh (1809), as modified by local tradition.
2. Inayat Ali Khan's *Description of the Principal Kotla Afghans*, pp. 13-14; James Browne, ii. 7-8. The Sikhs have always remembered this protest of the Nawab with gratitude, and throughout their troubled relations with the Muslim powers they have always spared the house of Malerkotla from their attacks.
3. Guru Gobind Singh, in his *Zafarnāmā*, mentions forty.

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imperial army was in pursuit, and the Guru and his supporters would not be spared. But they chose to risk their lives for him. They dressed him in the blue garb of a Mohammedan fakir, and took him in a litter on their shoulders. They informed all inquires that they were escorting *Ucch Pir*, or a high saint, which by a pun would also mean the Holy Saint of Ucch (a sacred place near Multan). Once they were overtaken by the pursuing party, whose commander closely interrogated the escort about the identity of the Pir. Finding the answers not very satisfactory, the commander sent for Qazi Pir Mohammed, once the Persian tutor of the Guru, and asked him to identify the occupant of the litter. The Qazi gave a helpful reply and saved the situation. The families of these Mohammedan friends of the Guru still retain the autograph letters granted to them by him, and show them with great respect to those who visit their houses.

The Guru moved on to Jatpura, where he was befriended by another Mohammedan, Rai Kalha, who offered his services to him unreservedly. The Guru asked him to send somebody to Sarhind to get information about the fate of his little sons. The messenger sent by Rai Kalha returned in a few days and brought the sad news that the children had been done to death. The bereaved father received the news with perfect composure. Checking his tears and turning his sorrow into strong resolve, he muttered, 'No, no my sons are not dead. They refused to barter their religion.They live for ever. It is Sarhind that shall die.' Saying this, he knocked out a shrub with his arrow, and added, 'The enemy shall be uprooted like this.'

The Guru took leave of Rai Kalha, and moved forward. The atmosphere was thick with the rumours that the forces of Sarhind were on the move, and were closing in on the Guru. In the district of Ferozepore he once again collected his men and turned on his pursuers. The scene of this last battle is called *Muktsār*, or the pool of Salvation. The fighting was as hard as before, but this time the royal forces were defeated. Among his own slain the Guru found those forty men of Majha who had deserted his ranks during the seige of Anandpur, but shamed by their own women who would not let them enter their homes, they had come back to reinforce the Guru's small army, and had died fighting for him. When he came to know of this, he was deeply moved. He took out the paper on

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which they had written their 'disclaimer', and tore it up, as a sign of forgiveness and reconciliation. He embraced each one of them, as they lay dead or dying, and called them the *Saved Ones*. They are still remembered in the daily prayer of Sikhs.

The Guru managed to reach Talvandi Sabo, now called *Damdama* or resting place. Here he stayed for nine months, with an influential Sikh named Dalla, and made it a great seat of learning. It is often described as the Guru's Kashi. The Guru, while here, is said by some later writers to have reproduced the whole Adi Granth from memory, and completed it by adding the hymns composed by his father. This miracle of memory is not recorded by the *Gurbilās* or the *Surāj Prakāsh*. That the hymns of the ninth Guru were incorporated here is contradicted by the fact that there is a copy of the Holy Granth at Patna, bearing the date 1748 BK. (1691 A.D.), containing the hymns of Guru Tegh Bahadur in their proper places. There is another such copy, found at Dacca, which was written even earlier than this, in 1675, in the first year of Guru Gobind Singh's accession. Notwithstanding the presence of Guru Tegh Bahadur's writings in such volumes, however, it must be admitted that the final form, which became fixed for all time, was given to the Holy Granth at Damdama Sahib. This work of re-editing consisted of completing the *nitnem* (or daily prayers) by the addition of four hymns under *so-purkh*, expunging certain unauthorised pieces which had crept in at the end in some copies, amending certain spellings here and there, and so on.

On the way, when at Dina, the Guru had sent a letter in Persian verse in reply[1] to a summons from Aurangzeb. He called it

1. "The Mohammedan authors assert," says Irvine on the authority of Wārid. "that Guru Gobind now sent in petitions to Alamgir, offering to make submission, with a promise to accept Islam." The *Ahkām-i-Alamgir* of Inayatulla also refers to a representation made by the Guru for an interview with the Emperor, but makes no mention of the promise to accept Islam. The petition itself was the *Zafarnamā*, which on perusal would show that it was in reply to some letter received from Aurangzeb (see verses 53-54) and that far from being a petition it was a letter of remonstrance (see Cunningham, p. 80). "Do not want only spill the blood of men," wrote the Guru, "for your own blood as surely will be spilt by death" (65). "If you rely on men and money, my eyes are fixed on God, the omnipotent; if you pride yourself on power and pelf, my refuge is God the immortal" (101-102).

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Zafarnama, or an Epistle of Victory. In this he reminded him of his ill-treatment, and told him that, though so many of his Sikhs, besides his sons, had been killed, he was still unconquered. 'For what is the use of putting out a few sparks, when you raise a mighty flame instead?' It meant that the work which the Guru had started had become a worldwide movement, and therefore it could not be crushed by defeating or killing a few individuals. The message seems to have softened the heart of the aged monarch, who invited the Guru to come and see him. The Guru was already on the move towards the south. When he reached the neighbourhood of Baghaur in Rajputana, he heard the news that Aurangzeb had died in his camp at Ahmadnagar, in the last week of February, 1707. The Guru returned to Delhi.

There ensued a war of succession between the sons of Aurangzeb. Bahadur Shah, who was the eldest, hurried down from Peshawar to oppose his brother, Azam, who had proclaimed himself emperor in the Deccan. On June 8, 1707, a battle was fought at Jajau, near Agra, where Bahadur Shah was victorious. In this contest the sympathies of the Guru were with Bahadur Shah, his old friend, and he is said to have helped him with a detachment of his men in the battle of Jajau. This drew him closer to the new Emperor, who invited him to Agra and presented him with a rich dress of honour and a jewelled scarf (*dhukhdhukhi*) worth 60 thousand rupees.[1] The Guru was pleased with the interview, and saw in the possibility of ending the age-old differences with the Mughals. This can be inferred from certain words of the Guru occurring in the letter written by him to the Sangat of Dhaul, dated October 2, 1707. In that he refers to some '*other things which were also progressing satisfactorily*'. These *other things* could only be the friendly negotiation, on the termination of which, he said, he would be returning to Anandpur, where he hoped to see the whole Khalsa assembled again. But the turn of events took him away to the Deccan.

While the negotiations were still in progress, Bahadur Shah

1. See *Bahādur-Shāh-Nāmā* : entry dated 4th Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 1119 A. H. (July 23, 1707); Letter of Guru Gobind Singh to the Sangat of Dhaul, dated 1st Katik, 1764 Bk. (Oct. 2, 1707); *Gursobhā*, xvi. 35.

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marched into Rajputana against the Kachhvahas, and thence to the Deccan to suppress the insurrection of his brother Kam Bakhsh. The Guru accompanied him for his own purpose,[1] and occasionally separated himself from the royal camp to preach his mission to the people. Seeing, however, that there was no prospect of the Emperor agreeing to any proposal for the redress of his wrongs, he broke off with Emperor and came to Nander in the beginning of September. Here he met a Bairagi monk, Madho Das, whom he converted to his faith and renamed Banda Singh, popularly known to history as Banda Bahadur.[2]

On his journey to the South the Guru had been pursued secretly by two Pathans from Sarhind. The daily increasing closer relations between Bahadur Shah and Guru Gobind Singh must have alarmed Wazir Khan of Sarhind, who had been responsible for most of the sufferings of the Guru. He knew what would happen to him, if peace were made between the Mughals and the Sikhs. It was believed that the Guru was accompanying Bahadur Shah with a view to getting the murderer of his sons punished.[3] The Emperor had already shown an inclination to help the Guru at the expense of

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1. The moving of the Guru along with the royal camp has been misinterpreted by some writers, like Forster, Cunningham and Elphinstone, who allege that the Guru was given a military command in the expeditionary force led by the Emperor. The allegation began with Forster who says that 'the Sikhs say', and Cunningham goes further in saying that 'the Sikh writers seem unanimous in giving to their great teacher a military command in the Daccan'. Who are these Sikh writers? Nobody knows. Khafi Khan only says that during Bahadur Shah's march to the Deccan, Guru Gobind Singh, with two or three hundred spear-men, came to the Emperor and accompanied him (*dar rakāb rafāqat namūd*). *Tārikh-i-Bahādurshāhi*, however, leaves no ground for ambiguity. It says that "Guru Gobind, one of the descendants of Nanak, had come into these districts to *travel* and accompanied the royal camp. He was in the habit of constantly addressing assemblies of worldly persons, religious fanatics and all sorts of people" (E. & D., vii. 566). This could not have been allowed to a man in government service, much less to a military commander proceeding on an important expedition. See also Malcolm's *Sketch*, pp. 71-72; and Narang, p. 100fn.
2. See Browne, p. 9; Ahmad Shah Batalia's *Supplement*, p. 11; Ali-ud-Din's *Ibratnama*, p. 93. For further details and authorities, see Ganda Singh's *Banda Singh Bahādur*, pp. 14-19.
3. Khushwaqt Rai, p. 44.

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the Nawab. He had granted a firman in favour of the Guru upon Wazir Khan for the payment of Rs. 300 a day. Wazir Khan was now in fear of his life, and could not rest until he had cut off Guru Gobind Singh. An earlier attempt[1] having failed, he sent two Pathans for the fell purpose. They came to Nander, and paid occassional visits to the Guru, with whom they became acquainted. One day, after the evening service, when the Guru was having a nap and his sole attendant happened to be sleepy, one of the Pathans saw his chance and stabbed the Guru in the left side. Before he could deal another blow he was despatched by the Guru with his sabre. His flying companion fell under the swords of the Sikhs who had come up hearing the noise. The Guru's wound was immediately sewn up, and in a few days it appeared to have healed up; but when once he tried to bend a stiff bow, the imperfectly healed wound burst open and caused profuse bleeding. The Guru maintained cheerfulness up to the last. Nobody could guess that his end was drawing near. Suddenly on October 7, 1708, a couple of hours after midnight, he roused his Sikhs from sleep, and bidding them farewell breathed his last.[2]

The Gurus had led the Sikhs from generation to generation in the practice of qualities which make a great nation; and now that the task was over, the last of them merged his personality in the ranks of his disciples. All Sikh history had been moving towards this divine event. There was to be no personal Guru in future.[3] The whole Sikh community, in its organised form called the *Panth*, was to guide itself by the teachings of the Gurus as incorporated in the Holy Granth, and also by the collective sense of the community.

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1. Bakht Mal's *Khālsā-namā*, pp. 19-22. See also *Chaturjugi*.
2. In giving the account of the Guru's death we have followed Sainapati, who was a contemporary of the Guru. See his *Gursobha*, xviii. 8-37.
3. *Majmā-ul-Akbār*, by Harsukh Rai, 481; Sohan Lal, i. 64-65; Forster, i. 263; Malcolm, 76; *History of the Panjab* Allen & Co., (1846), 109; *History of the Sikhs* (Calcutta, 1846), 86; *Rāhtnāmās* of Prahlad Singh, 24.

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PART TWO

POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS

SIKHS UNDER BANDA

1. ***Events leading up to Sarhind :*** After the death of Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth and the last Guru, the political leadership of the Sikhs came into the hands of Banda Singh[1], whom the Guru had converted to his faith and baptised as a regular Sikh. The Guru had sent him to the Panjab to continue the struggle with the Mughal rulers. He had given him a drum and a banner as emblems of temporal authority, and had bestowed on him five arrows from his own quiver as a pledge of victory. At parting he had enjoined on him to remain pure in conduct and never to touch another man's wife; to be true in word and deed; to look upon himself as a servant

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1. He was born on Oct. 27, 1670, at Rajauri in the Poonch district of western Kashmir. He was known as Lachhman Das in his childhood. His father, Ram Dev, was a Rajput ploughman. As a child he was very tender-hearted. A story is told of his seeing a dying deer which he had killed, along with its young ones falling from its womb and writhing to death before his eyes. The sight was too much for him, and he resolved thenceforward to lead an ascetic's life. He became a Bairagi and took the name of Madho Das. Like the sadhus of this order he wandered from place to place until he came to Nasik on the banks of the Godavari, where he entered the hermitage of an old Yogi, Aughar Nath, and learnt occultism from him. After his preceptor's death, he moved to Nander (in the Nizam's dominions), and established a monastery of his own. He took delight in practising tricks of magic on his unwary visitors. He tried to do the same thing with Guru Gobind Singh who visited him in his monastery in September 1708. The following dialogue is recorded in Ahmed Shah Batalia's *Zikar-i-Guruan wa Ibtidā-i-Singhān wa mazahab-i-eshān :*

   Madho Das : Who are you? *Guru Gobind Singh :* He whom you know.
   Madho Das : What do I know? *Guru Gobind Singh :* Think it over.
   Madho Das : (after a pause) : So you are Guru Gobind Singh?
   Guru Gobind Singh : Yes. *Madho Das :* What have you come here for?
   Guru : I have come to make you my disciple.
   Madho : I submit, I am your *Banda* (slave).

   See a detailed account in Ganda Singh's *Banda Singh Bahadur.*

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of the Khalsa who would be the Guru in future; and to act always upon the advice of the five Sikhs (Baj Singh, Binod Singh, Kahan Singh, etc.) sent along with him.

Thus raised to the position of the commander of the Khalsa, Banda proceeded to the north, and from the neighbourhood of Sehri and Khanda, in the Pargana of Kharkhauda, he despatched the *hukāmnāmās* of Guru Gobind Singh to the leading Sikhs in the Panjab, calling upon them to join him. He told them that he was coming to punish Wazir Khan, the Faujdar of Sarhind, and his Hindu assistant, Sucha Nand, for having killed the Guru's young sons. He would also chastise the Hill rajas who had ill-treated the Guru. The Sikhs flocked to his banner from all quarters. Bhai Fateh Singh, a descendant of Bhai Bhagtu, Karam Singh and Dharam Singh of Bhai Rupa, and Nagahia Singh and Chuhar Singh were among the first who joined him with men and money. Ali Singh and Mali Singh, with other Sikhs of Salaudi, were the next to follow. Chaudhris Ram Singh and Tilok Singh, of the Phulkian family, liberally contributed to his resources, and in a few months the whole Sikh peasantry was up in arms to wreak their vengeance upon Sarhind.

Banda marched in the direction of Sarhind, plundering and destroying the important Muslim places on his way. On 26th November, 1709, early in the morning, he suddenly fell upon Samana, the native-place of Jalal-ud-Din, who had been employed to kill Guru Tegh Bahadur. Before nightfall the palatial buildings of the city were a heap of ruins. About 10,000 Mohammedans are said to have lost their lives, and an immense booty fell into the hands of the Sikhs.[1] Passing through Ghuram, Thaska, Shahabad and Mustafabad, which fell before Banda without much resistance, he attacked the town of Kapuri. Its commander Qadam-ud-Din, was notorious for his lustful campaigns, stories of which are still current after the lapse of over to centuries. Banda Singh was determined to chastise the depraved ruler. He attacked Kapuri, and setting fire to the strongholds of Qadam-ud-Din's debaucheries scattered his wealth to the four winds.

He next turned his attention to Sadhaura, which was another

1. The *Phulkian States Gazetteer* (1904), p. 205; *Prāchi'n Panth Prakāsh*, p. 102-3.

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centre of oppression. The Hindus of this place complained to him that they were not allowed to cremate their dead or to perform any other religious ceremony. Cows were slaughtered before their houses, and their blood and entrails were left in the streets. Many Hindus were compelled to leave the town in disgust. The name of the Usman Khan, the ruler of the place, stunk in the nostrils of the Sikhs, because he had tortured to death the great Muslim saint, Sayed Badrud Din Shah, popularly known as Budhu Shah, simply for his having helped Guru Gobind Singh in the battle of Bhangani. The Sikhs marched upon Sadhaura, and the aggrieved peasantry who were waiting for a chance to rise swelled the numbers of the invaders and rushed into the town. The angry mob got out of hand, and set fire to the mausoleum of Qutbul Aqtab, by which the Hindu inhabitants were forced to carry their dead, and put to the sword all those who had taken shelter in the mansion of Sayed Budhu Shah. The place since then is called the Qatalgarhi or slaughter-house.[1] After the fall of Sadhaura the Sikhs took possession of the neighbouring fort of Mukhlisgarh.

Banda Singh was following an easterly circuitous route, in order to give time to the Sikhs of the Doaba and the Majha to cut their way through the opposition of the Malerkotla Afghans who were blocking the passage of the Satluj, and to join him before he attacked Sarhind.

2. ***Conquest of Sarhind:*** Sarhind represented everything that was abominable to the Sikhs. It was here that the younger sons of Guru Gobind Singh had been done to death by the orders of Wazir Khan. It was this man who had been harrassing the Guru at Anandpur, had attacked him at Chamkaur, where his elder sons were killed, and had pursued him to Muktsar, where the forty Saved Ones met their death. Again it was this Wazir Khan whose emissaries had assassinated the Guru himself at Nader. The Sikhs

1. Mohd. Harisi's *Ibratnāmā*, p. 40b; *Prāchin Panth Prakāsh*, p. 104; Karam Singh's *Bandā Bahādur*, p. 55-9. There is nothing on record, even in Muslim histories, to support the exaggerated statements of the *Shamsher Khālsā* and *Prāchin Panth Prakāsh* about the desecration of the tombs of Pirs, exhumation of the dead and their cremation. The fact is that the Mausoleums of Ganj-i-Ilm and Qutbul Aqtab stand uninjured to the present day; only the latter bears some marks of the fire set to it by the infuriated mob.

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were burning with rage to wreak their vengeance on the hateful ruler of this wretched city, which was then called *Gurū-ki-Mari*, or the accursed one. It was looked upon as a sacred duty to take part in the coming crusade.

There were three classes of men who joined Banda Singh in this campaign. Firstly there were those who had belonged to the school of Guru Gobind Singh, and now rallied round his military successor in a spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice to carry on the struggle against the enemies of their country and religion. There were others who had been sent by such leaders as Ram Singh and Tilok Singh of the Phul family who could not personally join the expedition but sympathised with the cause and desired to render every possible help for its success. The third class was composed of irregulars who had been attracted by the prospect of plunder and private revenge. It was mostly this kind of people who were responsible for indiscriminate murder and loot. In all there are said to have been about forty thousand men assembled on the occasion, though this estimate of Khafi Khan appears to be very much exaggerated. Banda had no artillery, no elephants, and not even a sufficient number of horses for all his men. Wazir Khan came out with all his resources to meet the advancing Sikhs. He had with him not only his own forces, but also those of Hissar and its neighbourhood in the south, and of Lahore, Eminabad, etc., in the north. The whole army must have been over twenty thousand.[1] They had a number of field-guns, zamburaks and a long line of elephants.

The battle was fought on the plain of Chappar-chiri on 12th May, 1710. In the first shock of battle the booty-loving irregulars in the ranks of Banda took to their heels. They were followed by a thousand men who had been smuggled in[2] by a nephew of Sucha Nand, the notorious Hindu Diwan of Sarhind. To stem the tide of desertion Banda Singh himself rushed to the front of his army and

1. Khafi Khan, in his *Muntākhibul Lubāb*, II. 653, gives the strength of Wazir Khan's army as 15,000 men; but taking into account the reinforcements received by him, according to the *Akhbār-i-Darbār-i-Muallā* (Jaipur MS), the number must have gone up at least by 5,000.
2. For details see Ganda Singh's *Banda Singh Bahadur*, pp. 63-64; *Prāchin Panth Prakāsh*, p. 110.

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boldly led them on to the attack. "The Sikhs," says the author of the *Ahwāl-i-Salātin-i-Hind,* "came face to face with the Mohammedans, rapidly discharged their muskets, and reduced the battle to a hand-to-hand fight. The commander of the Mohammedans [Wazir Khan] and some of his men fought so bravely that heaps of the bodies of the infidels [Sikhs] fell to the ground, piled one upon another, and there was din on all sides like that of Dooms day. At last the whole Mohammedan army was destroyed. Wazir Khan then came face to face with Baj Singh, shouting 'be careful, you dirty dog', and rushed upon him with a lance. Baj Singh snatched the weapon from Wazir Khan and struck it on the head of his horse and wounded it. After a while, Wazir Khan pulled out an arrow from his quiver and thrust it at the arm of Baj Singh. Then drawing his sword he sprang forward to make an end of him. Fateh Singh, who was standing nearby, took out his sword and struck Wazir Khan with it so strongly that it passed through his shoulder down to his waist and his head fell to the ground."[1] Confusion spread in the Mohammedan ranks, and the Sikhs fiercely fell upon them. "Not a man of the army of Islam," says Khafi Khan, "escaped with more than his life and the clothes he stood in. Horsemen and footmen fell under the swords of the infidels [Sikhs], who pursued them as far as Sarhind."[2]

Sarhind itself, which was about ten miles from the scene of battle, was taken two days later after a short but sharp struggle, in which five hundred Sikhs lost their lives. The city was ransacked, and only those Mohammedans who had either fled away or had hidden themselves in disguise in the houses of Hindus escaped injury. Some Hindus too, like Sucha Nand[3]. who had made themselves particularly obnoxious to the Sikhs for their complicity in the crimes of Wazir Khan came in for their share in the punishment. The booty that fell into the hands of the Sikhs is estimated at two crores, in money and goods, belonging to Wazir Khan, and some lakhs found in the deserted houses of Sucha Nand and others.[4]

1. Folio 35b-36b.
2. *Muntākhibul Lubāb,* II. 654.
3. Mohammed Rasim's *Ibrātnāma,* p. 21.
4. Kamwar Khan's *Tāzkirātus Ṣālātin-Chughtāiyā,* 150b.

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'The *Siyarul Mutaakhirin* [as well as the *Muntakhib-ul-Lubàb*] contains terrible details of atrocious 'deeds of the Sikhs,' writes Thornton, 'but a Mohammedan writer is not to be implicitly trusted upon such a point.'[1] Very fruitful imagination seems to have been at work in ascribing every kind of cruelty to the Sikhs. They are said to have desecrated mosques and 'torn open the wombs of pregnant women, dashing every living child upon the ground.'[2] Such statements are blindly repeated by later writers like Mohammed Latif. 'The Mausoleum of Ahmed Shah [Sheikh Ahmed Mujaddid Alif Sani], the most magnificent of such buildings', says Narang, 'still stands as it did before the battle, and is, I think, sufficient evidence of the exaggeration in Latif's statement.'[3] There is no particular instance given of any such outrage. Only the Sikh chronicles mention the digging up of the grave—and that too for the performance of the last rites—of Bibi Anup Kaur, a Sikh woman, who had been carried away by Sher Mohammed Khan[4] and buried in a grave at Malerkotla, after she had committed suicide to save her honour.

The city was spared complete destruction at the intervention of local Hindus who appealed to Banda Singh for mercy, and amnesty was granted to the inhabitants on their paying a large ransom.' The curse, however, is still attached to the city, and even now a pious Sikh, when travelling to the north or south of Sarhind, may be seen pulling out a brick or two from its ruins and conveying them to the waters of the Satluj or the Jamuna.

Baj Singh, a companion and counsellor of Banda, was appointed governor of Sarhind, with Ali Singh of Salaudi as his deputy. Fateh Singh, of the Bhai-ke family, was given charge of Samana, and Ram Singh, brother of Baj Singh, that of Thanesar, jointly with Baba Binod Singh. The imperial deputies, incharge of the various parganas of Sarhind were so terrified that they submitted to the authority of Banda Singh, without striking a blow, and thus the entire province of Sarhind, extending from Karnal to Ludhiana

1. *History of the Panjab* (Allen & Co., 1846), I, 176.
2. Khafi Khan's *Muntākhibul-Lubāb*, II. 654.
3. *Transformation of Sikhism*, p. 178 f. n.
4. Inayat Ali Khan's *Description of Kotla Afghans*, p. 14.

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and yielding a revenue of about thirty-six lakhs a year, came into the hands of the Sikhs.

Strange conversions were noticed as a result of Banda Singh's overbearing influence. 'The authority of that deluded sect [of the Sikhs] has reached such extremes', wrote Amin-ud-Daula in June 1710, 'that many Hindus and Mohammedans, finding no alternative to obedience and submission, adopted their faith and ritual. Their chief [Banda Singh] captivated the hearts of all towards his inclinations and, whether a Hindu or a Mohammedan, whoever came in contact with him, was addressed as a *Singh*. Accordingly Dindar Khan, a powerful ruler of the neighbourhood, was named Dindar Singh, and Mir Nasir-ud-Din, the official reporter of Sarhind, became Mir Nasir Singh. In the same way, a large number of Mohammedans abandoned Islam and followed the misguided path [of Sikhism] and took solemn oaths and firm pledges to stand by Banda."[1]

Banda fixed upon Mukhlispur, a pleasant hilly place near Sadhaura, as his headquarters, and repairing its old neglected fort, renamed it Lohgarh, or Iron Castle. He assumed royal authority, and struck coins in the name of the Guru. They bore the following inscription on one side :

سکہ زد بر ہر دو عالم تیغ نانک وا ہب است
فتح گوبند سنگھ شاہ شاہاں فضل سچا صاحب است

(By the grace of the True Lord is struck the coin in the two worlds : The sword of Nanak is the granter of all boons, and the victory is of Guru Gobind Singh, the king of kings.)

The reverse had the following words in praise of his newly-founded capital :

ضرب بہ امان الدہر مصورت شہر زینت التخت مبارک بخت

(Struck in the City of Peace, illustrating the beauty of civic life, and the ornament of the blessed throne.)

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1. *Ruqaat-i-Amin-ud-Daula*, Letter iii.

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He also introduced an official seal for his state documents and letters patent. It contained the following inscription expressive of his deep sense of devotion and loyalty to his master :

دیگ و تیغ و فتح و نصرت بے درنگ یافت از نانک گورو گوبند سنگھ

(The Kettle and the Sword (symbols of Charity and Power), Victory and ready Patronage have been obtained from Guru Nanak—Gobind Singh.)

He started his own regnal year from the date of his conquest of Sarhind. He had no time to organise any regular system of administration. One measure, however, was very conspicuous, and has had great influence on the future fiscal history of the Panjab. It was the abolition of the Zemindari system prevailing in the country. The Zemindars or landlords, who had been mostly government officials responsible for payment of fixed land revenue of the villages entrusted to them, had come to arrogate to themselves the position of absolute proprietors who could turn out the actual cultivators at their sweet will. The authorities did not interfere in their internal arrangements so long as they paid their contributions regularly. They were free to exact any amounts from the peasants who were practically reduced to the position of slaves. 'The affairs were mismanaged in all the provinces,' says the author of the *Sāhibul Akhbār*, 'and no control was maintained over the government officials or the Zemindars. All classes of government officers were addicted to extortion and corruption, and the whole system of regularity and order was subverted.' Once, says a local tradition, people from the neighbourhood of Sadhaura came to Banda complaining of the iniquities practised by their landlords. He ordered Baj Singh to open fire on them. They were astonished at the strange reply to their representation, and asked him what it meant. He told them that they deserved no better treatment when being thousands in number they still allowed themselves to be cowed down by a handful of Zemindars. Why should not the Khalsa of the Guru feel strong enough to redress his own wrongs? The remedy suggested was successfully applied, and the landlords were ejected. The example was followed in other parts of the country. The result was that the tillers of the soil became masters, and in the course of time

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the curse of the Zemindari system, which is still hanging over many parts of northern India, was lifted from the Panjab, which is now considered as the heaven of peasant proprietors.

With the success attending their arms and the confidence they inspired in the minds of the non-Muslim people, who came to look upon them as the defenders of their faith and country, the Sikhs were fired with a new zeal. They must root out the Mughal rule from the sacred soil of ancient Hind. Every complaint from the oppressed people excited them against the government officials and aristocrats. They started on a career of conquest, and every method, including loot and sabotage, which would cripple the resources of the enemy, was considered justified.

Every Sikh, of whatever station in life, felt to have been providentially raised above everyone of his fellow-subjects and destined to be a ruler. 'In all the parganas occupied by the Sikhs,' says Irvine, 'the reversal of the previous customs was striking and complete. A low scavenger or leather-dresser, the lowest of the low in Indian estimation, had only to leave home and join the Guru [meaning Banda], when in a short time he would return to his birth-place as its ruler with his order of appointment in his hand. As soon as he set foot within the boundaries, the well-born and wealthy went out to greet him and escort him home. Arrived there, they stood before him with joined palms, awaiting his orders.....Not a soul dared to disobey an order, and men who had often risked themselves in battle-fields, became so cowed down that they were afraid even to remonstrate. Hindus who had not joined the sect were not exempt from these."[1]

3. ***Invasion of the Gangetic Doab :*** The victory at Sarhind was a signal for a general rising of the Sikhs all over the country. We shall take up first the spearhead of the movement led by Banda himself. The trouble arose in the pargana of Deoband over a few conversions to Sikhism. The converts belonging to the village of Unarsa complained to Banda that they were being imprisioned and persecuted by Jalal Khan, the Faujdar of that area. Banda led his warriors across the Jamuna and marched on Saharanpore on the way to Jalalabad. Ali Hamid Khan, the Faujdar of Saharanpore,

1. *Later Mughals*, I. 98-99.

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fled to Delhi, but the people led by officers put the place in a state of defence and received the Sikhs with showers of arrows and bullets. The Sikhs proved more than a match for them, and reduced the place at once. With the fall of the city half of the *sarkar* of Saharanpore came into the possession of the Sikhs.[1] A detachment was sent to chastise the Peerzadas of Behat (17 miles to the north of Saharanpore), who were notorious for their anti-Hindu activities, especially for slaughtering cows in public. The town was sacked and the Peerzadas were killed to a man.[2]

The whole force then prepared itself to march towards Jalalabad, which lay about thirty miles to the south. Banda Singh addressed a letter to Jalal Khan, the founder and faujdar of the place, to release forthwith all the Sikhs taken prisoner from Unarsa and to submit to the authority of the Khalsa. A typical Afghan as he was, he refused to give in, and to make matters worse he mounted the Sikh messengers on asses, and parading them through the streets of Jalalabad turned them out of the town.[3] This added fresh fuel to the fire, and the Sikhs rushed towards Jalalabad with all haste. On their way they replenished their resources with rich booty obtained from Ambehta. On 21st July 1710, they reached Nanauta, where a determined resistance was offered to them by the local Sheikhzadas, but it was all in vain. The Sikhs were reinforced by the Gujjars who had long suffered at the hands of the Sheikhzadas and who now declared themselves to be *Nanak prast* or followers of Guru Nanak. A sanguinary battle was fought in the streets of the town, and according to the Diary of Mohammed Zafarud Din, a contemporary writer, three hundred of the Sheikhzadas fell dead in the courtyard of Sheikh Mohammed Afzal alone. Nanauta was razed to the ground. It has since then been called the *Phūtā Shahr* or the Ruined Town.[4]

Jalalabad was besieged next. After a couple of suburban villages had been reduced, the heavy rainfall and the inundation of the river

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1. *Ibratnāmā* by Mohd. Harisi, 41 a-b; *Later Mughals*, I. 101.
2. *Calcutta Review*, LX 23; Karam Singh's *Banda Bahadur*, 85-86.
3. *Muntakhibul Lubāb*, II. 655; Eliot & Dowson, VII. 416; *Later Mughals*, I. 101-2; *Calcutta Review*, LX. 23.
4. Neville : *Muzaffarnagar*. 174; Williams : *The Sikhs in the Upper Doab*. Cal. Rev. LX. 23.

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Krishna made it extremely difficult for the Sikhs to continue the siege. They retired to the Jullundur Doab, where their presence was more urgently needed. But the campaign had shaken the whole countryside up to the walls of Delhi. The reports of the Sikh incursions into Sarhind and the Gangetic Doab alarmed the Emperor who was then in Rajputana after his return from the Deccan, and he moved his forces northwards for the suppression of the Sikhs.

4. ***Occupation of the Jullundur Doab :*** The Sikhs, after Sarhind, felt everywhere that the day of their deliverance had arrived. The nearest territory to feel the stir was that of the Jullundur Doab, where the Sikhs rose as one man to throw off the yoke of the Mughals. They began by ousting a number of petty officials and replacing them with Sikhs. They addressed a letter, in the form of a *parwana,* to Shamas Khan, the Faujdar of Jullundur, calling upon him to effect certain reforms and to hand over his treasure personally to the Khalsa. After a show of submission, the Faujdar came out to give a fight. He appealed to the Muslims in the name of religion, and declared a *jehad* against the Sikhs. According to Khafi Khan, more than a hundred thousand crusaders, mostly weavers were collected, and they marched out from Sultanpur with great display. In addition to these Shamas Khan was able to muster about five thousand horse and thirty thousand foot.[1] The Sikhs, according to Khafi Khan, had seventy to eighty thousand horse and foot (the number seems to be exaggerated). They sent an urgent message to Banda, who was busy in the Gangetic Doab, to hurry to the Punjab.

Seeing the larger forces of the enemy, the Sikhs retired to Rāhon, Which is about seven miles from Sultanpur. Here they were besieged for several days, but finding that they were fighting against odds, they slipped away under the cover of darkness from their entrenchments. This was, however, only a ruse. Seeing next morning that Shamas Khan had gone away to Sultanpur, his capital, leaving a small force in the fort of Rāhon, they rushed upon the fort and drove out the garrison. This happened on 12th October, 1710.[2]

1. *Muāsirul Umarā,* III. 127; Harisi's *Ibratnāmā,* 42a; *Muntakhibul Lubāb,* II. 658.
2. Elliot, VII. 418-19; *Later Mughals,* I. 100.

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5. ***Haidri Flag Crusade***[1] **:** The tracts of Majha and Riarki, forming the central Panjab, were delivered at the same time. Here too the Sikh rising was so general that the local officials, not feeling equal to the task, had to resort to a religious crusade against the insurgents. 'The entire Khalsa from the Majha and other areas, numbering about eight thousand, assembled at Amritsar, and having conferred together overran the territories of the Panjab.'[2] Leaving the strong parganas of Lahore and Qasur for the present, they turned their attention to Batala and Kalanaur first, and turning out the government officials established their own *thānās* and *tehsils*. Some of the Sikh leaders, particularly those of Sitthala and Butala, moved on further north and occupied the pargana of Pathankot.[3]

The main body of the Sikhs carried their arms to the very walls of Lahore. Sayyed Aslam Khan, the Governor of Lahore, was seized with terror and dared not move out to meet them. The Mullas, therefore, took up the lead. They raised a green banner, called the Haidri Flag, and proclaimed a *jehād* or crusade against the Sikhs. So fervent was the appeal made to the Muslim sentiment that many wealthy traders and high-placed men sold off their belongings and made large contributions to the funds of the expedition. Some Hindu officials too joined them. The Sikhs had stationed themselves in the fort of Bhagwant Rai at the village named Bharat near Lahore. After suffering a close siege, in which they put up a bold defence, they sallied forth one night and broke through the enemy's lines. Sadly disappointed at this discomfiture, the *Ghazis* returned to Lahore and in chagrin insulted the Hindus of the city and threatened their own rulers.[4] Another force sent out against the Sikhs, laying near Kotla Begum, met the same fate. The

1. The *Panth Prakāsh* of Rattan Singh and Gyan Singh both place the Haidri Flag crusade long after the death of Banda, but we have followed here the contemporary book *Ibratnāmā* of Mohammed Qasim and also *Umdatut Twārikh* and *Chahār Gulshan-i-Panjab* which are based on original sources.
2. *Chahar Gulshan-i-Panjab*, 189-190; Mohd. Qasim's *Ibratnāmā*, 22; Irvine, I. 103.
3. Mohd. Qasim's *Ibratnāmā*, 22; *Muntakhibul Lubāb*, II. 660; *Prachin Panth Prākāsh*, 117.
4. M. Qasim's *Ibratnāmā*, 23.

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final battle of this campaign was fought at Bhilowāl, where the sikhs fell upon the unsuspecting *Ghazis* returning to Lahore, and inflicted a heavy defeat on them. By this the whole territory of Majha and Riarki became a Sikh possession.[1]

6. ***Clash with Royal Forces :*** The Sikhs were now masters of the Punjab east of Lahore. According to Iradat Khan, 'there was no nobleman daring enough to march from Delhi against them.' 'If Bahadur Shah had not quitted the Deccan, which he did in 1710, there is every reason to think,' says Malcolm, 'the whole of Hindustan would have been subdued by these.....invaders.'[2]

On receipt of the news of the Sikh disturbances in the Punjab, the Emperor left Ajmer on 27the June 1710 and moved towards the north. He called upon the Subedars of Delhi and Oudh, the Faujdars and Nazims of Moradabad and Allahabad, and the Sayyeds of Barha towards the Punjab. He had Sikhs so much on his brain that he looked at every bearded man with suspicion. On 8th September he issued an order that 'all Hindus employed in the Imperial offices should get their beards shaved', because he feared that there might be Sikhs disguised among them. The tales brought to him about Banda were still more disturbing. It was said that the Sikh leader was possessed of supernatural powers, that flames issued from his mouth, and that weapons could have no effect upon him or his followers.[3]

He moved a mammoth army against the Sikhs, who retired from Thanesar and Sarhind and took their stand at the fort of Lohgarh. The imperial forces reached its neighbourhood on 4th December, and were encamped at Sadhaura, when the Sikhs fell upon them with showers of arrows and musket-balls. 'It is impossible for me,' says Khafi Khan, 'to describe the fight which followed. The Sikhs in their fakir's dress struck terror into the royal troops. The number of the dead and dying of the Imperialists was so large that for a time it appeared as if they were going to lose.' The Imperial troops were, however, soon reinforced, and the setting sun saw the

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1. Ibid, 23; *Risālā-i-Sāhibnumā*, 190-92; *Umdatut Twārikh*, 79-80.
2. *The Sketch*, 99.
3. *Later Mughals*, I. III; *Haqiqāt-ul-Aqālim*, 129.

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Sikhs retreating towards the fort of Lohgarh.[1]

This hilly retreat of Banda's forces was closely invested by over sixty thousand horse and foot, including some from Rajput princes such as the Bundelas. But the place was so well fortified that the Emperor dared not attack it for some time. The Sikhs inside, however, were short of provisions and had no hope of standing a long siege. They are said to have eaten their horses and other beasts to satisfy their hunger, In despair they decided to rush out and cut their way through the enemy's ranks. One Gulab Singh, paymaster of the Sikh force, 'offered to sacrifice his life for the good of his religion,' and dressing himself in the garments of Banda seated himself in his place. Banda made a determined sally on the night of 10th December, and disappeared with all his men into the hills of Nahan.[2]

The place was taken next morning by the Mughal commander, Munim Khan, but to his disappointment 'the hawk had flown', leaving only a substitute, in the person of Gulab Singh, and a few dead and dying. The Emperor's displeasure knew no bounds. He ordered one of his nobles, Hamid Khan, to pursue the escaped chief into the hills, and to bring him alive if possible; if not, then the *Barfi Raja* (Ice King) of Nahan was to be hauled up. As Banda Singh had escaped beyond the reach of his pursers, Raja Bhup Prakash of Nahan was made prisoner, and was carried, along with Gulab Singh, in an iron cage to Delhi.

7. ***Banda in the Hills :*** Within a fortnight of his escape, Banda issued circular letters, called *Hukamnāmās*, to the Sikhs of various places, calling upon them to join him at once. One such letter, dated Poh 12, Sammat 1 (12th Dec. 1710), addressed to the Sikhs of Jaunpur, reads thus :

Seal

Dèg o tèg o fatèh o nusrat bèdirang
Yāft az Nānak Guru Gobind Singh

[3]

1. Khafi Khan, II, 669-70. Kamwar's *Tazkirāt us Salātin*, 153a.
2. Iradat Khan's *Memoirs*. 62; Khafi Khan, II. 672-3; *Dastūral Inshā* 8b; *Ruqaat-i-Amin-ud-Daulā*, Letter 4; Qasim's *Ibratnāmā*; Kanwar's *Tazkira*, 154b.
3. For translation of the words on the seal see p. 87.

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One God ! Victory to the Presence.[1]

This is the order of *Sri Sacchā Sāhib*[2] (the real Great Master) to the entire Khalsa of Jaunpur. The Guru will protect you. Call upon the Guru's name. Your lives will be fruitful. You are the Khalsa of the great immortal God. On seeing this letter, repair to the presence, wearing five arms. Observe the rules of conduct laid down for the Khalsa. Do not use bhang, tobacco, poppy, wine, or any other intoxicant. Do not eat meat, fish or onion.[3] Commit no theft or adultery. We have brought about the Golden Age (*satya yuga*). Love one another. This is my wish. He who lives according to the rules of the Khalsa shall be saved by the Guru.

Poh 12, Sammat 1. *Lines ten (10).*

In response to this call, Sikhs from all directions flocked to him at Kiratpur, and he was able to lead an expedition against some of the Hindu chiefs who had been troubling the last Guru.[4] Raja Bhim Chand of Kahlur was the first to attract his attention. As usual he was called upon by a *parwānā* to submit. The old fire still burned in him, and he chose to offer resistance. His capital, Bilaspur, was stormed and his forces decimated. The other rajas seeing this had no stomach to fight, and they came in readily to submit. Raja Sidh Sain of Mandi declared himself to be a follower of Guru Nanak, and helped Banda Singh in his difficulties with the Raja of Kulu. Raja Udey Singh of Chamba allied himself with the Sikh leader and gave him in marriage a handsome girl from his own family. A son, named Ajai Singh, was born of this union.

For some time Banda made the northern hills his home, and would come down only occasionally to extend his influenee in the plains. On 4th June 1711, a battle was fought near Bahrāmpur, where the Faujdar of Jammu was defeated and the towns of Raipur and Bahrampur were overrun by the Sikhs. Kalanaur and Batala

1. The words in the original are *Fateh Darshan,* which were introduced as a war cry. Later on it seems to have been abandoned, as it was feared that it might displace the regular Sikh salutation, *Wāhigūrūji kā Khālsā, Wāhigūrūji ki Fateh.*
2. These words are used for the Guru (the real master), in whose name he was issuing these letters.
3. This injunction, for which there is no sanction in Sikhism, shows some of the old predilections still lurking in Banda's mind.
4. The account given here of the expedition to the Shivaliks is taken mainly from Rattan Singh's *Prāchin Panth Prakāsh.*

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were the next to fall. But the occupation of these places was only temporary, as Banda was pursued by the Imperial generals, Mohammed Amin Khan and Rustamdil Khan, and he had again and again to retire towards Jammu. The Sikhs could not be caught, but many persons were 'seized on the wrongful accusation of being Sikhs', and were given over to the Mughal soldiers in lieu of pay. They were sold in the horse-market (*nakhās*) at Lahore.[1] The Sikhs and their supporters in the central districts were also subjected to indignities and harrassments. An Imperial orders was issued enjoining upon government officials to kill Sikhs wherever found.[2] The result was an indiscriminate persecution and slaughter of Sikhs and their sympathisers. In order that Hindus might not suffer along with them, the Emperor republished his royal firman,[3] ordering all Hindus to shave off their beards, and thus to distinguish themselves from the Sikhs who, according to *Siyar-ul-Mutaakhirin,* would never—not even under pain of death—'cut or shave their beards or whiskers or any hair whatever of their bodies'. In fact, Emperor Bahadur Shah seems to have gone off his head towards the end of his life. Once he took it into his head to order the killing of dogs and donkeys and the expulsion of beggars and fakirs from the camp and the city.[4] He held his last durbar on February 15, 1712, and died on the night of Monday, February 18th.

Bahadur Shah was succeeded by his effeminate son, Jahandar Shah, who was soon ousted by Farrukh Siyar, son of Azimush Shah, in the beginning of 1713.

The period of internecine struggles offered a favourable opportunity to Banda to re-establish his power and recapture the lost territories. He shot across the Punjab with the speed of a meteor, and took Sadhaura and Lohgarh, which once again became the capital of the Sikh power. Farrukh Siyar appointed Abdus Samad Khan as Governor of Lahore and his son, Zakrya Khan as Faujdar of Jammu, with orders to expel Banda from his positions. The Sikhs were obliged to evacuate Sadhaura and Lohgarh in October 1713,

1. *Later Mughals,* I. 119.
2. *Tārikh-i-Mohammed Shāhi,* 224a.
3. *Dastūr-ul Inshā,* 9b; *Ruqaat-i-Amin-ud-Daulā,* Letter 5.
4. *Siyar-ul-Mutaakhirīn* (Raymond. I, 21-22; Briggs, 19-20).

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and Banda took refuge in the Jammu hills, where he married a second time and made a settlement of his own, now called *Dera Baba Banda Singh.*[1] Abdus Samad Khan and his son received honours from the Emperor on their initial victories over the Sikhs, who began again to be hunted down everywhere, especially by the *Pathans* of the Gurdaspur region.

8. ***Last stand at Gurdās-Nangal :*** In the beginning of 1715 Banda Singh reappeared in the plains. He marched towards Kalanaur and Batala, which he took after some hard fighting, and placed them in the hands of Sikh officials. This roused the ire of Farrukh Siyar who sharply rebuked Abdus Samad Khan, the Governor of Lahore, for his negligence. Orders were issued to a number of Mughal and Hindu officials and chiefs to proceed with their troops to reinforce the armies of Lahore. These were further supported by the Katauch Raja of Kangra and Har Dev, son of Raja Dhruv Dev of Jasrota. Before Banda could dig in at some safe place to receive the combined onslaught, the forces of Samad Khan were on him. He, however, stood his ground very well to the amazement of all, and in the first encounter fought so heroically that, according to *Siyar-ul-Mutaakhirin,* he was very near giving a complete defeat to the Imperial general.' But in the absence of a strong position for defence, he was obliged to retreat and was brought to bay at the village of Gurdas-Nangal, about four miles to the west of Gurdaspur. He put his men in the *ihātā* or enclosure of Bhai Duni Chand, and threw up improvised defences around it. A moat was dug and filled with water from a neighbouring canal, and an artificial quagmire was created about it to keep off the enemy. Here the Sikhs sat down to stand the siege, which became so close that not a blade of grass, or a grain of corn, could find its way in. Mohammed Qasim, the author of the *Ibratnāmā,* who was an eye-

1. The Dera, where his descendants live, is situated on the left bank of the Chenab, about 28 miles north-west of Jammu, 14 miles south-west of Katra, and 7 miles south of Riasi. Here Banda stayed for a little over a year, and solemnised his second marriage with Sahib Kaur, daughter of a Khatri of Wazirabad. He had by her a son, named Ranjit Singh, who became the ancestor of his lineal descendants.
2. The actual site of this village is marked by a big heap of ruins, known as *Bande Vāli Thèh,* lying one mile from the present village of Gurdās-Nangal.

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witness of these operations, writes : 'The brave and daring deeds of the infernal Sikhs were amazing. Twice or thrice a day, some forty or fifty of these blackguards would come out of their enclosure to gather grass for their animals, and when the combined forces of the Imperialists went to oppose them, they made an end of the Mughals with arrows, muskets and small swords and disappeared. Such was the terror of these people and the fear of the sorceries of their chief that the commanders of the royal army prayed that God might so ordain things that Banda should seek his safety in fight from the *garhi*.'[1]

The besiegers could do nothing but to draw the siege closer, so as to starve out the Sikhs. The provisions were soon exhausted, and the besieged began to suffer extremes of hunger. Conditions were further worsened by a dispute between Banda Singh and Binod Singh about their future plans. Binod Singh was of the opinion that they should evacuate the *garhi* by cuting through the enemy's lines, but Banda was not agreeable; he was for staying where they were. Hot words were going to lead to blows, when Kahan Singh, son of Binod Singh, intervened between his father and Banda Singh, and proposed that one of them should leave the place. Binod Singh accepted the suggestion and rode out of the enclosure. He fought his way through the besiegers and was off in an instant.[2]

The difference was overcome, but the situation remained as desperate as ever. In the absence of grain, flesh of horses, asses and other animals were used as food. 'Also as the Sikhs were not strict observers of caste', says Irvine on the authority of Khafi Khan, 'they slaughtered oxen and other animal, and not having any firewood ate the flesh raw. Many died of dysentery and privation...When all the grass was gone, they gathered leaves from trees. When these were consumed, they stripped the bark and broke off the small shoots, dried them, ground them down, and used them instead of flour, thus keeping body and soul together. They also collected the bones of animals and used them in the same way. Some assert that they saw a few of the Sikhs cut flesh from their own thighs, roast it,

1. *Ibratnāmā* 42.
2. *Mahimā Prakāsh*, by Sarup Chand; *Banda Bahadur* by Karam Singh.

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and eat it."[1] 'In spite of all this,' says Kamwar Khan, 'the infernal Sikh chief and his men with-stood all the military force that the great Mughal Empire could muster against them for eight long months.'[2] But how long could this continue? About eight thousand had died, and the remaining were reduced to mere skeletons. No resistence, in such conditions, was possible. The *garhi* was entered by the Imperialists on December 7, 1715, and Banda and his famished followers were taken prisoners. Some two or three hundred of them were bound hand-and-foot and made over to the Mughal and Tartar soldiery, who put them to the sword and filled that extensive plain with blood as if it had been a dish.' The dead bodies of the Sikhs were ripped open in search of gold coins, which were supposed to have been swallowed by them, and their heads were stuffed with hay and mounted on spears.[3]

9. ***Executions at Delhi :*** From Gurdas-Nangal Abdus Samad Khan took Banda and his companions to Lahore,[4] where they were ignominiously paraded in the streets, and then despatched to Delhi. Although Banda was a prisoner, living at the mercy of his captors, yet so great was the dread of his occult powers that it was feared that he might fly away from their hands. He was bound in chains in four places and kept in a cage. A Mughal officer was tied to him on the same elephant with orders to plunge his dagger into him if he tried to escape. His companions, about 200 in all, were also in chains. Zakrya Khan, Abdus Samad Khan's son, who was in charge of the show, thought that the number of prisoners was too small to be presented to the Emperor. So he roped[5] in a few thousand more from villages on the way, until the number of the prisoners amounted to 740, and that of the heads hoisted on spears to 2000. Besides these seven hundred cart-loads of heads also accompanied the gruesome show !

The whole concourse moved slowly towards Delhi, where it reached on February 29th, 1716. Banda Singh and the other Sikh

1. *Later Mughals,* I. 315; *Muntakhibul Lubāb;* II. 763.
2. *Tazkirātus Salātin.*
3. *Tazkirātus Salātin,* 178 a-79 b; Khafi Khan, II. 763-5; *Ibratnāmā* of Harisi, 45 a; Irvine, I. 315.
4. *Siyar-ul-Mutaakhirin,* 403.
5. Kesar Singn's *Bansāvalināma,* 294 a; Karam Singh's *Banda Bahadur,* 180.

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prisoners were conducted in a procession through the main streets of the Imperial capital. The ceremonial followed was the same as observed in the case of Sambhaji, the son of Shivaji Maratha. At the head of the procession were carried two thousand heads of Sikhs, raised on bamboo poles, their long hair streaming to the wind. Along with them, the body of a cat was hung at the end of a pole, to show that every living creature, even down to the quadrupeds like cats, found in the enclosure of Gurdas-Nangal, had been destroyed. Then came Banda Singh, seated in an iron cage placed on the back of an elephant, and dressed, out of mockery, in a gold-embroidered red turban and a heavy robe of scarlet brocade worked in with pomegranate flowers in gold. Behind him stood, clad in chain armour, with a drawn sword in hand, one of the Turani officers of Mohammed Amin Khan. After his elephant came the other Sikh prisoners, tied two and two on saddleless camels. On their heads were placed high fool's-caps of ridiculous shape, made of sheep-skin and adorned with glass-beads. One hand of each man was attached to his neck by two pieces of wood which were held together by iron pins.

The road from Agharabad to the Lahori gate of Delhi, a distance of several miles, was lined on both sides with troops and filled with jubilant crowds, who mocked at the grotesque appearance of the prisoners. Mirza Mohammed Harisi, the author of *Ibratnāmā*, who was present at Delhi during these scenes, which he describes as *tamasha*, writes, "Such a crowd in the bazars and lanes had rarely been seen. The Mussalmans could hardly contain themselves for joy. But the unfortunate Sikhs, who had been reduced to this condition, were quite happy and contented with their lot. Not the slightest sign of dejection or humiliation was visible on their faces. In fact, most of them, as they passed along on their camels, seemed to be happy and cheerful, merrily singing their sacred hymns. If anyone from the lane called out to them that their own excesses had brought them where they were, they quickly retorted that it had been so decreed by the Almighty, and that their capture and misfortune was in accordance with His will. And if anyone said, 'Now you will be killed', they shouted, 'Do kill us. When were we afraid of death? Had we been afraid, how could we have fought so

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many battles with you? It was only through want and hunger that we fell into your hands; otherwise you know already what deeds of bravery we are capable of."[1]

On the arrival of the procession at the Imperial fort, Banda Singh, Baj Singh, Bhai Fateh Singh and a few other leaders were made over to Ibrahim-ud-Din Khan, *Mir Atish,* to be imprisoned at the Tripolia. Banda Singh's wife, his three-years old son, Ajai Singh, and the nurse of the child were taken away and put into the harem. The remaining Sikhs handed over to Sarbrah Khan Kotwal for execution.

The carnage began on 5th March, 1716, opposite the *Chābutrā Kotwāli,* in the space now attached to the Hardinge Library. One hundred Sikhs were executed every day. Life was promised to anyone who would renounce his faith and become Mohammedan, but 'to the last', say Surman and Stephenson, who were then in Delhi, 'it has not been found that one apostatised from this new-formed religion.'[2] Among the condemned prisoners was a youth of tender age recently married. His widowed mother tried to take advantage of the Emperor's offer, and represented that her son was not a Sikh but only a prisoner in the hands of Banda's men. Her entreaties moved the Emperor who ordered the release of the youth. The mother brought the order of reprieve to the Kotwal, who told the young boy that he was free. But the boy refused to be so released, saying, 'My mother is telling a lie. I am heart and soul a Sikh, a devoted follower of my Guru. Send me quickly after my comrades.' He ran back to the place of execution, and was duly beheaded.[3] "All observers, Indian and European," says Irvine, "unite in remarking on the wonderful patience and resolution with which

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1. Harisi's *Ibratnama,* 53. For another account of the same scene by an eye-witness, see Sayed Mohammed's *Tabassirat-un-Nazirin,* 187 a. See also C. R. Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal,* II. xiiii.
2. Letter, dated March 10, 1716, written by John Surman and Edward Stephenson, members of the British Embassy to the court of Farrukh Siyar, and addressed to the President and Governor of Fort William. It is published in J. T. Wheeler's *Early Records of British India,* p. 180, and in C. R. Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal,* pp. 96-98. See also *Haqiqat,* 15.
3. Khafi Khan, II. 766; Wilson, *Early Annals,* xliii; Shivdas, *Munavvar-ul-Kalam; Tarikh-i-Mohammed Shahi,* by Khushal Chand, 247 b; *Bahr-ul-Amwaj,* by Mohad. Ali Khan Ansari, 228 b.

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these men underwent their fate. Their attachment and devotion to their leader were wonderful to behold. They had no fear of death; they called the executioner *Mukt* or the Deliverer; they cried out to him joyfully, "O Mukt ! Kill me first !" 'But what is singular,' says the author of *Siyarul Mutaakhirin,* 'these people not only behaved firmly during the execution, but they would dispute and wrangle with each other for priority in death, and they made interest with the executioner to obtain the preference.' For a whole week the work of butchery went on until all the prisoners were beheaded. At night their bodies were removed in carts and hung up on trees outside the city."[1]

After this massacre there was a lull for three months, during which the lives of Banda Singh and his leading companions were spared, 'in hope to get an account of his treasure and of those that assisted him.'[2] Banda's turn came on June 9, 1716, when he was taken out in a procession, along with his twenty-six companions, through the streets of the old city to the shrine of Khawaja Qutabud Din Bakhtiyār Kāki, near the Qutab Minar. Here he was paraded round the tomb of the late Emperor Bahadur Shah. He was then offered the usual choice between Islam and death. But 'the chosen disciple of Guru Gobind Singh,' as the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* calls him, preferred to die rather than abjure his faith. His boby son, Ajai Singh, was placed in his lap, and he was asked to kill him. He refused. The executioner then hacked the child to pieces, and dragging out his quivering heart thrust it into the mouth of Banda, who stood unmoved like a statue, completely resigned to the will of God.[3] According to the *Siyarul Mutaakhirin,* Mohammed Amin Khan, who was standing by, was so impressed by the noble bearing of Banda Singh that he was impelled to say, 'It is surprising that a man possessed of so much acuteness and nobility should have involved the world in so much misery and brought clamity upon himself !' Banda replied with greatest composure, 'Whenever corruption in men increases so as to out step all bounds, then the divine avenger raises up a scourage like me to chastise the race so

1. Harisi, *Ibratnama,* 53 a; Kamwar, *Tazkirā* 179 b; Khafi Khan II. 765.
2. Letter of J. Surman & E. Stephenson, mentioned on p. 101, f. n. 1.
3. Harisi, *Ibratnama,* 62 b; Kamwar. *Tazkirā* 180a; Khafi Khan, II 765-67; *Siyarul Mutaākhirin* (Raymond), I. 91; *Tabassirātun Nāzirin,* 187a.

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depraved; but afterwards. He grants power to men like you to punish him in return." According to the *Mahma Prakāsh* he is also reported to have said, 'What power had anyone to kill me? The order of the True Guru [Guru Gobind Singh] was contravened by me, and this is the punishment for that.'

The details of his execution are too horrible to relate. First of all he was deprived of his right eye, and then of his left. Then his hands and feet were cut off, his flesh was torn with red-hot pincers, and finally his head was chopped off. Banda Singh remained calm and serene up to the last, 'glorying', says Elphinstone, "in having been raised up by God to be the ṣcourge to the iniquities and oppressions of the age.'[2] The remains of his body were removed, with permission, by some Sikh shopkeepers of Delhi, and were cremated near Bārā-pula.[3]

The other prisoners were executed the next day.

10. ***The Man and his Achievements :*** Perhaps no other man has earned so much hatred from Persian writers of the day as Banda Singh. It is true that the revolution which he led against the Mughal power had been started much earlier by the Sikh Gurus, but it was he who effectively organised and used it as a political force to pull down the Mughal edifice and to give a foretaste of independence to the people of the land. It is impossible to expect any calm appraisement of Banda's character and the hands of those from whom he wrested power. The contemporary writers too could

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1. *Siyarul Mutaākhirin*, 403; Khafi Khan II. 766-67.
2. Elphinstone's *History of India*, 670; Harisi, *Ibratnāmā* 62b; Kamwar, *Tazkira*, 180a; Khafi Khan, II. 765-6; Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I. 319.
   All authorities, excepting Gian Singh's *Panth Prakāsh* and Karam Singh's *Banda Bahadur*, support the view that Banda was executed at Delhi. Gian Singh, however, taking a hint from a doubtful tradition mentioned hesitatingly by Rattan Singh in his *Prachin Panth Prakāsh*, says that Banda, after being dragged behind an elephant, was thrown away on the bank of the Jamuna in an unconscious state, from which he recovered and went away first to Bhuchōke Thakkur, in the district of Lahore, and then to the present site of Dera Baba Banda in the pargana of Riasi, where he married, had children, and died so late as in 1741. All this is fiction, and is supported by no authentic contemporary record but a mere hearsay mentioned in one of the manuscripts of Rattan Singh's *Prachin Panth Prakāsh*.
3. *Haqiqat*, 16.

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not be free from bias, as they were either official reporters or proteges of the Mughal rulers, and therefore their accounts, says Tornton, may 'not be implicitly trusted'.[1] They depict him 'as one of the most sanguinary of monsters, the man whose actions, had infidels been the sufferers and a Mussalman the actor, they might not perhaps have thought unworthy of applause.'[2]

Judging him from a purely historical standpoint, he does not appear to have been such a monster. Even to his enemies he seemed to reflect so much acuteness and nobility in his features.[3] Indeed he resembled his master Guru Gobind Singh in his looks.[4] He had the same thin wiry physique, the same medium stature, and the same light brown complexion, which later on, under the influence of a more bracing climate of the hilly north, took on a pink hue. Over them all was the same olympian air which cowed down the recalcitrant and cheered up those who were friendly. All writers bear witness to his coolness of courgage and dauntless bravery against odds.

It shows how sagacious Guru Gobind Singh had been in choosing his political successor. From the day Banda received baptism of the Khalsa from the hands of his master to the last day of his life when he was torn to pieces, he remained a staunch believer in the Guru's mission. His coins and his seal bore the names of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh as the sources of his authority. He strictly followed the rules of Sikh conduct, called *Raht*, never cutting his hair, or using tobacco, *halal* meat or a stranger woman. In spite of the temptations offered to him by war, his unchallenged position, and his enemies' provocation and example, he remained pure and chaste.

His zeal for propagating religion was only equalled by his zeal for war. He converted a large number of Hindus and Muslims to the Sikh faith, but there is no evidence to show that he ever used force in doing so. Some people may have joined the Sikh fold just to ingratiate themselves with the conquering hero, or to save themselves

1. *History of the Panjab*, I: 176.
2. Mill's *History of India, II. 303.*
3. *Siyar-ul-Mutaākhirin*, 403 (Raymond. I. 91; Briggs, 79-80).
4. Mohammed Shafi Warid, *Mirat-i-Wāridat.*

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from dire punishment, but they cannot be counted as cases of undue pressure. It appears from a report[1] made to Emperor Bahadur Shah by an official newswriter that Banda, during his stay at Kalanaur in April 1711, had assured the Mohammedans that they would not be interfered with in any way, and that all those who came to join his ranks would be duly paid. They would enjoy full religious liberty, including that of saying *Namāz* and *Azān*. As a result of this five thousand Mohammedans enlisted themselves in his army, and the number—so says another report—[2] went on increasing daily.

There is no doubt about Banda's faithful adhesion to the doctrine of Guru Gobind Singh. But some recent Sikh writers, following Rattan Singh Bhangu, have laid undue emphasis on the differences between Banda and some of his companions. These differences really belong to the period after his death. In his life-time there was hardly anything visible in his policy or behaviour that could be interpreted as schismatic. It is clear from his letters that he never arrogated to himself the title or position of a Guru. Rather he loved to be called *Banda* or the master's slave, and always asked the Sikhs to follow the injunctions of the Great Guru.[3] It is true, he introduced a new slogan, *Fateh Darshan*, meaning 'Victory to the Presence', but it was only a war cry, and was not insisted on when it was pointed out to him that it might replace the usual Sikh salutation, *Wāhigurū-ji ki Fateh*. The other point of difference, which may have created some awkwardness at the time of interdining, was Banda's strict vegetarianism. But this could not have created, any more than it does now, a serious split, as meat-eating is not essential in Sikhism.

There is no evidence to prove that Banda Singh's companions at any stage quarrelled with him about religion or left him for any of his schismatic tendencies. The solitary instance of Binod Singh's going away from Gurdas-Nangal proves nothing. It was only a difference of opinion about tactics to be followed in a particular emergency.

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1. *Akhbār-i-Darbār-i-Muàllā* (Jaipur), dated 21st Rabi-ul-Awwal, 5 Bahadar Shahi (April 28, 1711 A. D.) Also see *Ruquaat-i-Amin-ud-Daulā*, iii.
2. *Akhbār-i-Darbār-i-Muallā* (Jaipur), fragment, undated (13th Rabi-ul-sani. 5 Bahadur Shahi.)
3. Kesar Singh's, *Bansāvalināmā*, 136.

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It has also been alleged in the same connection that Banda had disobeyed the instructions of Guru Gobind Singh's widow, Mata Sundari, who, in collusion with the Mughal authorities, is said to have called upon the Khalsa to dissociate themselves from him and his activities. But there is nothing in any contemporary record to support these allegations, which may be dismissed as mere fiction. The Khalsa, as we have seen, instead of turning their back on the national hero, stood by him upto the last and sacrificed themselves with him at Delhi.

There is no doubt that all Sikhs were united under Banda, and out of them he forged an instrument of justice for the poor and the downtrodden, and of severe chastisement for those who had been following the trade of oppression with impunity. He used to point out to his officials that 'according to the Holy Granth the best worship for a ruler is to be just... If you call yourselves Sikhs of the Great Man [Guru Gobind Singh], do not do anything that is sinful, irreligious or unjust. Advance the cause of true Sikhism, and smite those who behave in an un-Sikh manner.'[1] The measures adopted by him to execute justice and to punish the wrong-doers were often very severe, but those were very hard times, and nothing but such measures could have brought home to the irresponsible officials that wanton cruelty and oppression do not always pay.

The aim of Banda was nothing short of liberation of the country from the Mughal rule, which was still foreign in most of its essentials. It was as severe and unsympathetic as it had been in the days of Guru Nanak, who had described it as a rule of 'tigers' and 'hounds'. The whole Sikh movement had been for a national awakening, which first released the spirit of the people and then stirring them to a political consciousness knit them together to resist tyranny and oppression. The Gurus had organised their followers as a revolutionary force to defend their rights, and had secured from the Brahmin and the Mulla the freedom of food, the freedom of worship, the freedom of expression, and the freedom of missionary activity. The Sixth and the Tenth Gurus had taught them to fight in battle and to destroy the awe inspired by the Mughal despotism; but their objective being always defensive they had withstood the temptation

1. *Ibid*, 136.

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of acquiring territory, making prisoners or wresting wealth from the enemy. Banda Singh was the first man among Sikhs to think of founding a political *raj*. He fought battles not to cripple the Mughal power, but to destroy it root and branch. He therefore ousted the government officials and supplanted them with his own. He abolished the Zemindari system and introduced peasant proprietorship, which up to this day is recognised as one of the best fiscal reforms. He won thundering victories, and made the people feel for the time being that a great genius had risen in the land to avenge the wrongs of centuries and to set up a new order of things.

But the task proved too great for him. The Mughal *raj* was deeply rooted in the soil, its power was not yet exhausted, and it was fortunate in having at the helm of affairs in the Panjab a strong man like Abdus Samad Khan who mustered all the available forces of the country and held the Sikhs in check. Banda, on his side, had no such resources. A dauntless spirit can do much, but it cannot do everything. It must be supplemented with men and material. But Banda from the beginning was greatly handicapped in this respect. The movement he had started had, by its very successes, so terrified the upper classes that they dared not come out openly to help him. Only the poor classes of Sikhs joined him, and their number was not very large. The general masses of Hindus kept themselves aloof. Many of the ruling chiefs, like Chattar Sal, Badan Singh and Udet Singh Bundelas, Churaman Jat, Gopal Singh Bhadauria, Bachan Singh Kachhwaha and the Rajas of the Shivalik Hills took active part against him and allied themselves with the Mughals. All these causes combined to make the successes of Banda transitory.

But all the successes gained by him were not on the battle-field. There was a revolution effected in the minds of people, of which History often fails to take note. A will was created in the ordinary masses to resist tyranny and to live and die for a national cause. The example set by Banda and his companions in this respect was to serve them as a beacon-light in the darker days to come. The idea of a national state, long dead, once again became a living aspiration, and, although suppressed for the time being by relentless persecution, it went on working underground like a smouldering fire, and came out forty years later with a fuller effulgence, never to be expressed again.

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PART THREE

PERSECUTION LEADS TO POWER

The history of the Sikhs from the fall of Banda to the establishment of the Sikh state in 1765 is a record of the titanic struggle between the Khalsa on the one hand and the Mughals and the Durranis on the other, in which the sons of the soil had not only to fight for their lives, but were able, after long and determined suffering, to assert their superior right to rule over their own land. This period of half a century may be divided into four parts :

(1) From 1716 to 1721, a time of complete black-out, so far as outsiders were concerned, when the Sikhs were reeling under the terrible blow dealt to them by the massacre or Delhi, and, wriggling in impotent rage, were gnashing their teeth against each other.

(2) From 1721 to 1748, when peace was restored by Mata Sundari, the widow of Guru Gobind Singh, and Majha becoming the centre of Sikh activities invited the wrath of Moghul officials and became the scene of much suffering.

(3) From 1748 to 1758, when the invasions of Ahmed Shah Durrani weakened the Lahore state and encouraged the Sikhs to build forts and establish spheres of influence, until they took Lahore for the first time.

(4) From 1758 to 1765, when the Durrani came back to punish the Sikhs, and the great holocaust and desecration of the holy places intensified the Sikh struggle for liberation until they became a sovereign power in the Punjab.

1. Division Among Sikhs (1716-1721)

After the defeat and death of Banda every measure was taken, that an active resentment could suggest, not only to destroy the power of the Sikhs, but to extirpate the community as a whole. An edict[1]

1. Danishwar's *Miftāh-ul-Twārikh*, 398; Forster's *Travels*, 271; Malcom's *Sketch*, 85.

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was issued by Farrukh Siyar directing that any Sikh falling into the hands of his officers should, on a refusal to embrace the Mohammedan faith, be put to the sword. A reward was also offered for the head of every Sikh. Such was the keen spirit animating the persecutors, such the success of their exertions, that for a time it appeared as if the boast of Farrukh Siyar to wipe out the name of Sikhs from the land was going to be fulfilled. Hundreds of them were brought in from their villages and executed, and thousands who had joined merely for the sake of booty cut off their hair and went back to the Hindu fold again. Besides these there were some Sikhs who had not yet received the baptism of Guru Gobind Singh, nor did they feel encouraged to do so, as the adoption of the outward symbols meant courting death. Those, therefore who believed in Sikhism but had not the courage to die for it went about without long hair. They were called *Khulāsās* or irregulars—now known as *Sahjdhāris* or slowadopters. They believed in the same principles as the regular Sikhs, whom they helped with money and provisions in times of need, and whom they would join as baptised brethren as soon as they found themselves ready for sacrifice. The genuine Sikhs sought shelter in hills and forests, and for some time disappeared from the scene.

The first shock, however, was soon over, and the zeal of the Mughal official too seems to have slackened a little. Abdus Samad Khan, growing old and having a number of other risings to suppress, could not give the same attention to Sikhs as before. They slowly crept out of their hiding places and returned to their homes. The enforcement of the royal *firman* against them came to be confined to those who were suspected of having taken an active part in Banda's campaign. All others were left alone to pursue their peaceful callings.

With the return of Sikhs to the plains their visits to the Gurdwaras increased, particularly to the Darbar Sahib, Amritsar, where they assembled in large numbers on the occasions of Baisakhi and Dewali. This created a new problem for them. Who was to guide the services and control the income and expenditure? Previously the ultimate authority had rested with the Guru. Guru Gobind Singh, however, had abolished the personal Guruship, and had vested it in the Holy

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Granth to be administered by the Khalsa.[1] The Khalsa's authority had yet to take shape and become the Panth, when the Sikhs were forced to fight for their very existence and were given no time to organize themselves on the lines laid down by the Guru.

The Khalsa : The essential features of this central authority were that it was to be one and that it was to be exercised impersonally. Even in the time of the Gurus its unity was emphasized by the doctrine that all the Gurus were one[2] in spirit. But they had different bodies and seemed to receive personal homage. In order to make this homage impersonal, 'the personality of the Guru was detached from the spirit of the Guruship, which was regarded as one, indivisible and continuous.' It was inculcated that the Guru, in essence, represented two things : The Word and the Congregation. A mystic unity was established between the Word and the Guru on the one hand, and the Guru and the Sikhs on the other. Greatest respect began to be paid to the incorporated Word, even the Guru choosing for himself a seat lower than that of the Scripture. The Sikh congregations also acquired great sanctity, owing to the belief that the spirit of the Guru lived and moved among them. They began to assume higher and higher authority, until collectively the whole body, called the *Panth,* came to be regarded as an embodiment of the Guru. Guru Gobind Singh himself received baptism from the Sikhs initiated by him. What the last Guru did was to separate the personal and the scriptural aspects of the Guruship. The one he gave to the Khalsa and the other to the Holy Granth. Both acquired the title of Guru, and were to be addressed as Guru Granth and Guru Panth. In practice the Sikh congregation would sit together, with the Holy Granth in their midst, and deliberating over questions of common interest would give their decisions in the form of resolutions, called *Gurmatas.* All Sikhs were expected to receive them as decisions of the Guru, and any attempt made to contravene them was looked upon as an act of sacrilege. Such meetings of the

1. Kesar Singh's *Bansavali-nāmā,* 130-131; *Bhagat-Ratnāvali* by Bhai Mani Singh, *Sākhi 138; Sūraj Prakāsh, Rut* 6, ch. 41; Sohan Lal, I. 64-65; Bute Shah (PPL). 53.
2. *Dabistān; Bansāvalināmā,* 157; *Sikhism,* by Teja Singh, 26-27; see the third chapter for the whole question of Guruship.

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whole people, called the *Sarbat Khalsa,* were to be held twice a year, on the occasions of Dewali (October) and Baisakhi (April).

This was the picture[1] of the central Sikh authority as visualized by the staunch followers of Guru Gobind Singh, who came to be called the *Tat Khalsa,* to be distinguished from the followers of other denominations who held that the personal Guruship had not been abolished by Guru Gobind Singh, and that their allegiance was still due to their respective preceptors.

Other Denominations : One such claimant appeared at Anandpur, where Guru Gobind Singh had left an Udasi saint, Gurbakhsh by name, to look after the shrines there. Gulab Rai,[2] son of Suraj Mal (a brother of Guru Tegh Bahadur), set himself up as a Guru, and began to baptise Sikhs, called *Gulāb Rāiās,* by the old rite of *charan pahul,* which had been abolished by Guru Gobind Singh. He had gained some importance by the grant of an audience to him, in 1710, by Emperor Bahadur Shah in the neighbourhood of Sarhind. He had purchased some land near about Anandpur, and wanted to add to it by taking possession of the places sacred to the memory of the Gurus. He even sat on the *gaddi* of the Tenth Guru. To this the Udasi saint objected, saying that the places belonged to the fraternity and could not pass into the possession of any individual. The trouble ended with the death of Gulab Rai, whose successors soon after followed him.

The *Gangū-Shahiās* were the followers of one Gangu,[3] who had been blessed by Guru Amar Das. The incumbent of the *gaddi* at that time was one Kharak Singh, who called the Sikh congregations 'widowed', because they had no one person to lead them. He himself wanted to be that 'person', and as a qualification exhibited some miracles. He quarrelled with the Khalsa on the question of baptism, he believing in *charan pahul,* and they in Guru Gobind Singh's ceremony. He was put down in a duel of miracles, and his prestige suffered a shock.

1. This picture may be amplified by the study of the records left by some eminent Sikhs of those days. They are called *Rahatnāmās.*
2. *Prāchin Panth Prakāsh,* 158-159.
3. See *ante,* p. 25; Macaulifle, II. 115-116; *Prāchin Panth Prakāsh,* 164-65; *Sūraj Prakāsh, Ras I, ansu* 54.

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The *Handalias*,[1] later called *Niranjanias*, were another group led astray from the centre by their interested sympathy with the Muslim cause. Their original leader was Handal of Jandiala, a very devoted Sikh in the days of Guru Amar Das and his two successors, who entrusted him with the work of preaching Sikhism in the tract of Majha. His grandson, Bidhi Chand, lowered himself in the public eye by taking to himself a Muslim woman as a mistress. In order to justify himself he corrupted the text of Guru Nanak's biography and introduced the fictitious story that the Guru too had done the same thing. Later on in the days of persecution the Handalias dissociated themselves from the Sikh movement, and represented themselves as an independent sect. We shall see in the coming pages how they allied themselves with the enemies of the Sikhs and were responsible for much mischief.

Ajit Singh, who had been adopted by Mata Sundari, tried to make himself a Guru of the Sikhs, but being disowned by her in time, his movement came to nothing. His son, Hathi Singh, was also ignored.

From among the old orders, the *Minās*, *Dhirmaliās* and *Rāmrāiyās* had been banned by Guru Gobind Singh, and therefore they remained ineffective like extinguished craters.

The *Udasis* alone functioned with the old trust, because being unbaptised and unworldly they were safe from the Mughal persecution. There being no clash with them in the matter of belief, they were found to be very useful as custodians of Sikh temples. It may be said to their credit that in the darkest days of Sikh history, when the regular Sikhs were away from their homes or were engaged in fighting, these selfless monks kept the torch of Sikhism burning.

The babtised order of *Nirmaleā sādhus* also remained safe, because their missionary activities were mostly confined to the Malwa tract, which was not much affected by the persecuting campaigns. They were at one with the Khalsa in the matter of belief. Only they did not marry.

The main clash was with those Sikhs who had come to be

1. Macauliffe, *Introduction*, lxxxiii; *Prāchin Panth Prakāsh*, 169-73.

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called the *Bandeis*, because they apotheosized[1] Banda on account of his terrible end and believed that he had inherited the succession of Guruship from the last Guru. The author of the *Prāchin Panth Prakāsh* says that the Bandeis on this score claimed that they should have an equal share in the management of the Gurdwaras and the other affairs of the Panth. The Tat Khalsa were, however, not willing to recognise any schismatic divisions, and they dismissed the Bandei claim as wholly inadmissible.

Factious Fight and Peace : The matters came to a head on the occasion of Dewali[2] in 1720, when both parties mustered strong in the precincts of the Golden Temple and tried to assert their rights by a show of force. Baba Kahan Singh, son of Baba Binod Singh, who had obtained permission from the local authorities for holding the fair, felt responsible for keeping the peace. He and otherwise heads appealed to the warring factions not to spoil the sanctity of the place but to postpone the settlement of their differences to some other occasion.

In the meantime Mata Sundari, who was residing at Delhi, came to know of these troubles. She sent Bhai Mani Singh to Amritsar, along with Kirpal Singh, the maternal uncle of her husband, to restore peace among the Sikhs. He was appointed *Granthi* (or head priest) of the Darbar Sahib, with instructions to organize service in the temple and to manage its affairs. He was asked not to send any money from the offerings to her at Delhi, but to spend the whole income on the spot on the maintenance of the service, *langar* and other needs of the institution.

Bhai Mani Singh and his companion arrived at Amritsar in the beginning of 1778 B. K. (1721 A. D.), and in consultation with the

1. When once differences take a religious turn, they increase in number and become more and more emphatic. As the Khalsa was fond of blue colour, the Bandeis began to affect red. The cry of *Fatèh Darshan* began to oppose *Fatèh Wāhigurūji ki.* Vegetarianism was emphasised by one party, and meat-eating by the other.
2. After the death of Guru Gobind Singh the Sikhs used to visit his widows, Mata Sundari and Mata Sahib Kaur, at Delhi, particularly on the occasions of Dewali and Baisakhi. Seeing that these gatherings might be misunderstood, they asked the Khalsa to hold their periodical meetings at Amritsar. *Bansāvali-nāmā*, by Kesar Singh, 142-143).

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notables of the city put the affairs of the temple in order. Kesar Singh, in his *Bansāvalināmā,* gives a detailed account of the arrangements made. The blind, lame, old and infirm were provided for in the Guru's kitchen. The savings from the offerings and the income from the village lands and octroi duties were to be deposited with a famous firm of local bankers.

In a few days came the Baisakhi fair, when elaborate arrangements were made for the grand celebrations. Thousands of Sikhs gathered round the tank, and were lodged in different places. The Khalsas established themselves at the Akal Bunga, while the Bandeis occupied a fenced enclosure at the Jhanda Bunga. The leader of the Bandeis was Mahant Singh of Khem Karan, who sat reclining on cushions in a bullock cart, which was drawn up close to the front of the temple. The parties were ready for any eventualities, and would have come to blows, but Bhai Mani Singh came between them and saved the situation. He suggested that instead of fighting they should decide their claims by the casting of lots. He took two slips of paper, one bearing *Fatèh Wahiguruji ki* and the other *Fateh Darshan.* Both were immersed in water at *Har ki Pauri.* The agreement was that the party whose slip rose first to the surface would be deemed to have carried the day. For some time it appeared as if both the slips and sunk for ever, and the parties stood in alarming suspense. At last the slip with *Fateh Wahiguruji ki* came up and the victory was pronounced for the Khalsa.

Most of the Bundeis took it as a sign from on high against them, and they agreed to abandon their claim. Their leader, Mahant Singh, however, was not willing to accept defeat, and he told so to the Khalsa through Lahora Singh Kalal. The trouble was averted by another suggestion, made this time by Kahan Singh, that the issue should be decided by a wrestling match, which was arranged between his own son, Miri Singh, and Lahora Singh's son, Sangat Singh. The wrestling was held in front of the Akal Takht, and Sangat Singh was overthrown. Lahora Singh stood up with folded hands before the Khalsa and declared his allegiance to them. With him many others offered their submission. Those who still persisted to hold out were driven out of the precincts and in the scuffle that ensued Mahant Singh got killed. The *Bandeis* who agreed to join

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the Khalsa were reclaimed by a simple process, that of making them swallow a little of soup from the meat of pork.

From that day the *Bandeis* assumed a quieter role and practically disappeared from the pages of history. The same has been the fate of other schisms which have tried to ignore the vitalising spirit of Guru Gobind Singh and to displace him by their own perceptors. The real strength of the Khalsa does not lie in any racial or physical superiority, but in believing in the unity of Guruship and incorporating the personality of Guru Gobind Singh.

2. PERSECUTION AND MARTYRDOMS (1721-1748)

Scene shifts to Amritsar : With the coming of Bhai Mani Singh to Amritsar the centre of Sikh activities shifted to Majha. His efforts were successful in bringing the Sikhs together. There were no more bickerings, no more party strifes among them. All felt that they were one in the Guru, who has supposed to be living and moving among them. This gave them unity, and unity brought strength.

The first use made of this newly-gained strength was to punish the quislings who had betrayed the Sikhs into the hands of the government officials and the petty tyrants who had taken possession of their homes and lands. A story is told by Kesar Singh[1] of one such incident, occurring on the occasion of Baisakhi festival, which shows how some sneaks were ready to take advantage of the government's wrath against Sikhs and to involve them in trouble. One Chuhar Mal Ohri of Amritsar had two sons. One of them became a Sikh under the name of Mohkam Singh, and the other, named Ramji Mal, remained a Hindu. The latter had a fruit-garden, outside the city, near the Tunda Sar. Once mulberries were being picked from a rich harvest, when a batch of half a dozen Sikhs appeared there to buy the fruit, and on receiving a refusal snatched away a few handfuls, saying that they were ready to pay twice or thrice the price, but they must have them. The matter was given a political turn, and Ramji Mal ran to Lahore to lodge a complaint against the Sikhs. A military detachment was at once sent to encircle the city and to punish the Sikhs in general. The congregations at the festival were plundered, and the Sikhs were obliged to fight. Another contingent came from Lahore under the command of Aslam Khan

1. *Bansāvalināmā*, 147-148.

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and was reinforced by the men of Deva, the Chaudhri of Patti, and his Brahmin Diwan, Har Sahai. The besiegers were, however, discomfitted by a miraculous attack of lighting, which struck down Har Sahai and gave an opportunity to the Sikhs to fall upon the terrified enemy and scatter them. This gave rise to the famous saying:

Harsā māriā, Devā natthā, Aslā gaī Lahore.

Har Sahai was killed, Deva ran away, and Aslam returned to Lahore. (*Mark here the feminine gender used for Aslam*)

A police post was established at Amritsar to keep the Sikhs in check. Their movements were watched, and whenever found in large numbers they were harassed and dispersed. Once a party of pilgrims from Wazirabad was set upon and looted.[1] This, however, failed to overawe the Sikhs. Their sufferings rather added to their strength, and the Delhi government felt it necessary to place the Lahore government in the hands of a strong man. Abdus Samad Khan was transferred to Multan in 1726, and his more energetic son, Zakrya Khan, known as 'Khan Bahadur', was appointed to take his place.

Sikhs go into wilderness : Khan Bahadur, who had already taken a hand in fighting and suppressing the Sikhs was not the man to let the grass grow under his feet. He adopted strong measures to root out the troublesome people once for all. He sent out moving columns in all directions to hunt out[2] Sikhs and to bring them to book. Prices were fixed on their heads. Every morning punitive parties would issue from Lahore, and combing out villages and forests would bring in batches of Sikhs in chains. They were tortured in different ways and beheaded in public at a place called *Nakhas*, or horse-market, outside the Delhi Gate. To make an example of them, their heads were piled up in the form of pyramids, which the Sikhs called *Shahidganj* or 'treasure-troves of martyrdom'. The Sikhs again retired into forests, and experienced extremes of hardship. They lived on roots[3] and vegetables, calling them by most

1. Kesar Singh, 149-50.
2. *Chahār Gulshan-i-Panjab*, 169.
3. Khushwaqt Rai says (44 b) that they lived in caves and thorny bushes, and subsisted on roots and blades of grass. Zakrya Khan, he says, wondered that the grass-eaters should be so bold as to lay claim to sovereignty.

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flattering names. Crusts of onions were silver-pieces, parched grams were almonds, dry bread was a sweet dish, and when they had nothing to eat, their kitchen was said to be intoxicated with abundance. In fact, a new vocabulary[1] became current among Sikhs, showing an unconquerable will and a hilarious temperament which would make nothing of misery, but would rather crow over it and crack jokes about it.

They were merry outlaws. The government might place them beyond the protection of law, but the people did not abandon them. They were giving them as much support as was possible within the circumstances. The zemindars, we are told,[2] helped them in three ways : by protecting them, by providing them with means of living, and by hiding them in batches of twos and threes in their houses. The severity on Sikhs, instead of discouraging others, created sympathy in them for the suffering cause, and large numbers of people joined the ranks of the Khalsa. Even Lakhpat Rai, the Hindu Diwan of Zakrya Khan, was in secret sympathy with them. He would always defend them before his master, or would try to palliate the rigour of the measures adopted against them. The Sikhs took full advantage of their outlawry. They had no hearths, no homes, no property, but they lived in the hope,[3] prophesied by the Guru, that one day the Khalsa would rule (*Rāj Karègā Khālsa*). They lay in wait for that day. In the meantime they had to live. They were obliged by hunger and nakedness to seize food and clothing wherever found. There was no other alternative, if they had to keep their body and soul together. Their depredations, however, were confined to the property owned by the government or its officials and allies. Persian historians, and those who quote them now a days, loosely use the word 'plunder' in connection with the operations of Sikhs in those days, without giving any details, forgetting that such things are inevitable in war, especially in a war in which no human conditions are allowed to one party. Sikh historians give us the circumstantial setting in which the Sikhs had to struggle for their very existence, and provide us with details in each case of the so-

1. Aliuddin; *Growth of Responsibility in Sikhism*, 55-56.
2. Ahmed Shah Batalia, *Zikr-i-Guruān*, 13.
3. Rattan Singh, 185; *Tankhahnāmā of Nandlal*, 35.

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called 'robbery'. Gian Singh, as for example, says that the Hindus were generally spared, and if by mistake any one's property was lifted, it was duly restored.[1]

Tara Singh of Vān killed : What provoked the Sikhs to a relentless retaliation against the officials of Lahore was the attack made by them on Tara Singh of Vān,[2] who was killed in the fight. This Tara Singh was very popular with the Sikhs on account of his religious character, combining with it public spirit and boldness which drew him to the forefront of every Panthic undertaking. He had already won laurels in the campaigns of Banda, and in the present time of distress he was most energetic and fearless in helping his brothers in faith. Trouble arose over the doings of a petty tyrant, Sahib Rai of Nowshera, who would let loose his horses in the green fields of the Sikhs. When they protested, he abused them, saying, 'You talk of my horses trespassing into your fields! I tell you, my scissors will trespass into your beards and long hair.' This remark touched them on the raw, and they took away one of his mares and sold it off. The money got out of it was spent in providing rations to the free mess maintained by Tara Singh. Sahib Rai reported the matter to Jaffar Beg, the Faujdar of Patti, who sent a detachment of 25 horses and 80 foot to proceed against Tara Singh. Before they reached Vān, they were engaged by Baghel Singh Dhillon and his few companions, who drove them off. In the scuffle a nephew of Jaffar Beg was killed. The Faujdar requisitioned a larger force from Lahore. Zakrya Khan, the governor, sent 2200 horses, 40 zamburaks, 5 elephants and 4 rahkalas, under the command of his deputy, Momim Khan. All these against 22 men of Tara Singh! The news of this expedition was conveyed to the Sikh leader by a secret messenger from the Sikhs of Lahore. Another man, named Ghumanda, an Uppal Jat, offered to act as a scout for the Lahore army, and at the same time sent information to village of Vān. Bhai Tara Singh, however, refused to avail himself of the opportunity to save himself by flight. He thought it cowardly, and was determined to face death with boldness. With his 22 men he kept the whole

1. *Panth Prakāsh*, 452-53.
2. It is a village in the district of Amritsar, adjoining another village called Dall. Both are often named together as Dall-Vān.

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Mughal army at bay during the night. The rise of the sun, however, betrayed the true number of his men, and all were killed, including their brave leader.[1]

Sikhs take revenge : The news stirred the Sikhs all over the central Panjab, and they vowed to wreak their vengeance. Before the eventful year, 1726, was over, several cases of the Sikhs falling on government treasures and caravans were reported. A party coming from Chawinda side, with chests of revenue money meant for Lahore, was waylaid and looted. Another coming from Chunian and Kasur was seized near Kahna Kachha. Murtaza Khan, a royal merchant of Qandhar, who supplied horses to the Emperor, was deprived of his animals when his caravan was passing near Jandiala. For some years no money from revenue could reach the government treasury. When the forces of government tried to punish the outlaws, they were unable to contact them, as the Sikhs did not live in houses or forts, but ran away to their rendezvous in forests or other places difficult to access. Sometimes when they visited their homes at night, their presence was reported by their enemies to the authorities, and they were set upon and killed.[2]

Policy of placation : This story of persecution and revenge went on for some years, until the government felt tired of this method of dealing with the insurgents, and tried to placate them. In 1733 Zakrya Khan represented his difficulties to the Delhi government, and suggested that a grant be made to the Sikhs and a title be conferred on their leader. The proposal was accepted. Zakrya Khan entrusted the task of negotiation to a government contractor, named Subeg Singh. He went to the Khalsa assembled at the Akal Takhat, Amritsar, and was allowed to sit among them only after he had gone through the ceremony of exculpation, called *tankhāh*, for having been a co-operator with the government. He then offered them on behalf of the government the tittle of 'Nawab' along with a jagir, comprising the parganas of Dipalpur, Kanganwal, and Jhabal, of which the total income was about a hundred thousand rupees. They were about to reject the offer outright, but on further consideration they agreed to accept it. They offered it to Diwan

1. Rattan Singh, 171-184; Kesar Singh's *Bansāvalināmā*, 153.
2. Rattan Singh, 185-187.

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Darbara Singh, a prominent leader, but he would not have it, saying, 'What is a Nawabship to us who have been promised a Kingdom by the Guru? The word of the Guru must be fulfilled. The Khalsa meant to rule freely cannot accept a subordinate position.' Then it was presented to other leaders, but they too were unwilling. At last it was suggested that it should be given to some one noted for service. Kapur Singh of Faizullapur, who was then waving a big fan over the assembly, was selected for the honour. He accepted it, but not before it had been sanctified by the touch of Five Khalsas' feet.[1]

Organization of Dals : This gave a little breathing time to the Sikhs, who began to reinhabit their original homes. Their numbers also increased. But this spell of peace was not to last long. In giving them a jagir the government had expected that the Sikhs would beat their swords into ploughshares and live as peaceful and law-abiding citizens. But the Sikhs were not made of such pliable stuff. They had tasted of political liberty, and were only waiting for an opportunity to wrest power. They showed this by gathering under leaders and strengthening their organization. There were two main divisions : one consisting of the veterans, many of whom had seen the days of Guru Gobind Singh. They were called the *Budha Dal*, the Army of Elders, and were led by Nawab Kapur Singh, with Sham Singh of Naroke, Gurbakhsh Singh Roranwala, Bagh Singh Hallowalia and Bhamma Singh, as prominent members. The other, consisting of junior men, was called the *Taruna Dal*, or the Army of the Young. It was soon found, especially after the death of Diwan Darbara Singh in July 1734, that the Young Khalsa were difficult to control in one place. So five centres were established for them at Ramsar, Bibek-sar, Lachhman-sar, Kaul-sar and Santokh-sar, in the different parts of Amritsar, and they were asked to join any centre they liked. The following were choosen as leaders :

Jatha I : led by Deep Singh.
Jatha II : led by Karam Singh and Dharam Singh of Amritsar.
Jatha III : led by Kahan Singh and Binod Singh of Goindval.
Jatha IV : led by Dasaunda Singh of Kot Budha.
Jatha V : led by Viru Singh and Jiwan Singh Ranghretas.

1. Rattan Singh, 197-200.

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Each Jatha had its own drum and banner, and was composed of 1300 to 2000 men. All had a common mess and a common store for clothing and other necessaries. Nobody could go home without leave. Whatever was brought from outside was deposited in the common treasury.[1] Both the Dals were supervised and kept together by Nawab Kapur Singh, who was highly respected, both as a secular and spiritual leader. It was considered very meritorious to receive baptism at his hands. Any word fallen casually from his lips was taken up with the reverence due to superior being. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia once brought a complaint to him, saying that the Sikhs in his camp ridiculed his manner of speech. Having spent his earlier days in Delhi he had acquired the habit of mixing Urdu words with his Punjabi. The Sikhs ragged him for this, and called him '*Ham-ko tum-ko*'. Kapur Singh tried to console him with the words : 'Why should you mind what the Khalsa say? They got for me a Nawabship, and might make you a Patshah.' The Sikhs at once caught up the words as a prophecy, and began to call Jassa Singh a *Patshah*.[2] This incident shows how the Sikhs' imagination was running on sovereignty, and whatever they might do or say the thought of making themselves rulers was not far from their minds.

The people of the Budha Dal were comparatively more stationary, but those of the Taruna Dal were always on the move. They spread themselves out not only into the Bari Doab, but went further afield up to Hansi and Hissar. This renewed energy of the Dal alarmed the government and led to the confiscation of the jagir in 1735.

Clashes with government : The Khalsa was again free to have it out with the government. The Budha Dal was driven out of the Bari Doab by Lakhpat Rai, the Diwan of Lahore, and came to Malwa, where it was welcomed by Ala Singh at his capital Barnala. Here with great ceremony he received *pahul* from the hands of Nawab Kapur Singh. The presence of the Dal proved a godsend for him, as with its help he was able to extend his territory and annex the whole area of Sunam. After punishing Sarhind and

1. Rattan Singh, 200-201; *Panth Prakāsh*, 507-511.
2. Rattan Singh, 204; *Panth Prakāsh*, 511.

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acquiring enough 'to pay their way back to Amritsar', as they called it, the forces of the Budha Dal returned to Majha to celebrate the fair of Dewali there. Passing through Goindval and Tarn Taran they were stationed at Baserke, near Amritsar, when they were attacked by an army of seven thousand under the command of Diwan Lakhpat Rai. They were defeated[1] and pushed away towards Chunian. The Young Khalsa hearing of their reverse hurried to their assistance, and their combined Dals fell upon the Mughal army, which had not yet reached back Lahore. A battle took place near Hujra Shah Muqim, where the Sikhs inflicted a heavy defeat on their enemy, killing among others Duni Chand, a nephew of Lakhpat Rai, and Jamal Khan and Tatar Khan, two important Faujdars. This success emboldened the Sikhs, and they overran the whole area bordering on Amritsar.

The government was again roused to action. The temple of Amritsar was taken into possession, and its approaches were picketed by military men to prevent the Sikhs from assembling in their favourite shrine. In addition to the moving columns sent round to haul up Sikhs, the Chaudhris of the surrounding parganas were ordered to be on the look-out for them and to send them bound to Lahore. It was made criminal for anyone to give shelter to a Sikh or to help him in any other way.

Bhai Mani Singh martyred : Thousands of Sikhs must have fallen as a result of these measures, but a few cold-blooded executions were so memorable that they entered the daily prayer of Sikhs. One such was that of Bhai Mani Singh, the most learned and revered Sikh of the time. He had received baptism from Guru Gobind Singh himself, and was occupying the high position of Granthi in the Golden Temple. In the year 1738 he applied to the governor of Lahore for permission to hold the Dewali festival in the Temple. The permission was granted on the condition that Bhai Mani Singh should pay Rs. 5000 after the fair, which was to last for ten days. Hoping that he would be able to pay the sum out of the offerings to

1. This battle must have been fought a few days before Dewali, which in 1736 occurred on October 23. But Gian Singh, in his *Panth Prakāsh* (516) gives the date as Kartik 27, 1793 B. K. Corresponding to November 27, 1736. Evidently there is a mistake here.

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be made by the Khalsa, he issued invitations to them, and they started in large numbers from their homes. The governor, however, under the pretext of keeping order, sent a force under Diwan Lakhpat Rai to Amritsar. It was to station itself at Ram Tirath, and to march towards the city just on the day of the fair, so that the Sikhs might be frightened and disperse of themselves. The trick succeeded, and the *melā* broke up at the approach of the Mughal army. Bhai Mani Singh was arrested for not paying the stipulated sum, and was condemned to death. He was offered the usual alternative of accepting Islam, but he stoutly refused to barter his religion. His body was cut to pieces limb by limb.[1] A few companions too are said to have suffered along with him. Khushwaqt Rai particularly mentions the name of Diwan Singh who was broken on the wheel.

As a result of these renewed persecutions most of the Sikhs left the plains and sought shelter in the Shivalik hills, the Lakhi Jungle and the sandy deserts of Rajputana. Sometimes, however, abnormal happenings in the country encouraged them to come out of their hiding-places and make their presence felt. One such occasion was the invasion of India by Nadir Shah of Persia.

Sikhs harass Nadir : He had overrun the Panjab and sacked Delhi in the early months of 1739. On his way back to Persia, in order to avoid the heat of the plains and to have fresh fields for plunder, he took a northerly route under the Shivaliks until he came to Akhnur. The Sikhs who were passing their days in those hills thought it a good chance to replenish their resources, and falling upon his rear relieved him of much of his booty. Astonished at this, he called a halt at Lahore, where he is said to have questioned

1. Rattan Singh, 209-213; Khushwaqt Rai, 56. Sohan lal (108) gives another reason for the action taken against Bhai Mani Singh. He says that he was hauled up for making converts to Sikhism in Lahore, and being asked to shave off his hair had used strong words in giving his refusal. According to Sikh writers the sufferings of Bhai Mani Singh were due to a curse pronounced against him by the Khalsa for his having rearranged the contents of the Holy Granth. As originally compiled by Guru Arjun and given a final shape by Guru Gobind Singh, the book was arranged according to musical measures, but Bhai Mani Singh had broken up this order and reset it according to the writers included in it.

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Zakrya Khan about the whereabouts of the people who had dared to interfere with his onward march : 'Who are these mischief-makers?' Zakrya replied, 'They are a group of fakirs who visit their Guru's tank twice a year, and bathing in it disappear.' 'Where do they live?' asked Nadir. 'Their homes are their saddles,' was the reply. Nadir warned him, saying, 'Take care, the day is not distant when these rebels will take possession of thy country.' This remark of the foreign invader, hinting at the incapacity of Zakrya, cut him to the quick, and he resolved to launch an all-out campaign against the Sikhs.[1]

Prices fixed on Sikhs' heads : The previous orders to local officials were repeated with a greater emphasis, and rewards were offered for the capture and destruction of Sikhs. Ten rupees would be paid to anyone giving information which would lead to the arrest of a Sikh, and fifty for bringing his head. Even relations of the doomed people were not spared. It was declared lawful to plunder their houses and to seize their property.[2] The whole machinery of the government, including Chaudhris, Muqaddams, etc., was put into motion to crush the Sikhs. Even non-official zemindars were made to lend a hand in this nefarious business. Karma of Chhina killed many innocent Sikhs of Raja Sansi and its neighbourhood. Rama Randhawa of Talwandi had made himself so notorious by his Sikhs hunting expeditions that the following saying became current in the whole of Majha : 'We won't go to Rama's land. We would rather live on jungle berries.' Sahib Rai Sandhu of Nowshera Dhala used to send cartloads of heads to Lahore.

Massa punished by Mehtab Singh : But the most active of the Chaudhris was Massa Ranghar of Mandiali, who held the charge of the central Sikh temple at Amritsar. He had turned the holy precincts into a stable and the inmost sanctuary into a nautchhouse, where he used to smoke and drink and to enjoy the dance of public women. The news of this desecration reached a party of Sikhs

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1. Forster's *Travels*, 1. 272; Malcolm's Sketch, 86; Rattan Singh, 215-218; Ahmed Shah Batalia's *Zikr-i- Guruan*. 13, and his *Tarikh-i- Hind*, 857.
2. Rattan Singh, 218-219.

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residing in Jaipur.[1] One of them, Mehtab Singh of Mirankot, expressed his astonishment to the messenger that he should have known the fact of the sacrilege, and yet lived to carry it about. Why was not Massa Ranghar dispatched there and then? Was there no Sikh there ? The reply was, "No, not more sensitive to the sense of honour than those who had fled for their lives and were taking shelter in distant places like Jaipur." As if stung by a scorpion, says his grandson, Mehtab Singh took up his sword and made for the Panjab. Sukha Singh of Mari Kambo offered to go along with him. In August, 1740, they reached Amritsar and disguising themselves as Mohammedans and filling two bags with wellrounded brick-bats they entered the precincts of the Temple under the pretext of paying their land-revenue. Tying their horses outside the main-gate, they came to Massa Ranghar who was seated on a cot in the holy of holies and listening to the music of dancing girls. While Sukha Singh watched the entrance, Mehtab Singh fell on the tyrant like lightning and cut off his head. Before the companions of Massa could recover from their surprise the assailants had made good their escape.

Pursuit of Mehtab Singh by Harbhagat Jandialia : The governor, Zakrya Khan, was beside himself when he heard of this exploit of the Sikhs. He summoned all the Chaudhris of the parganas round Amritsar and ordered them to produce the murderer of Massa. A handsome prize was promised for his capture. Harbhagat Niranjania of Jandiala, who had already helped the government in hunting up Sikhs, came forward to do his best in this case. He mentioned the name of Mehtab Singh, whose village Mirankot was surrounded by a force under the command of Nur Din. Mehtab Singh was, of course, not found there, but his son, Rai Singh, a little child, who was there, became the object of a fierce contest between his protector, Natha Khaira, and the persecutor of the family, Harbhagat. Ultimately the child was seriously wounded and left for dead, but he recovered under the motherly care of a Kambo woman

1. Rattan Singh gives *Jainagar*, by which he evidently means Jaipur. Gian Singh gives Bikaner, but Rattan Singh's own grandfather being concerned in the matter, he ought to be more reliable.

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and grew up to be the father of the first recorder of Sikh history; we mean Rattan Singh Bhangu, whose *Prāchin Panth Prākash* we have been using with so much advantage.

Sikhs play the desperado : The taunt that the Sikhs were afraid of appearing in the plains brought another Sikh to the front. One Bota Singh Sandhu of Bharāna with Garja Singh, a Ranghreta, would come occasionally to Amritsar to have a dip in the tank at night, and would spend the day in the bushes near Tarn Taran. Someone seeing them made a remark that they could not be true Sikhs but must be some cowards who were afraid of showing their faces in the open. At this Bota Singh decided to come out and make his presence felt even by the government. He took up his position on the grand-trunk road, near Sarai Nurdin, and as a mere bravado began to collect a toll of one anna per cart and one pice per donkey-load. People paid this without demur, and nobody would report it to the government. Bota Singh then wrote direct to the governor at Lahore, announcing himself and the tax he was levying on travellers.[1] Knan Bahadur sent a detachment of one hundred horse, under Jalal Din, to arrest him. Bota Singh and his companion refused to surrender and died fighting.[2]

A similar story of Sikh bravado is told of Sukha Singh, the companion of Mehtab Singh of Mirankot. He happened to hear the remark of the Mughal guard stationed at Amritsar that the Sikhs dared not visit their temple as they used to do. He accepted the challenge, and came riding to tank. After watering his animal he threw off his disguise and plunged into the water. He was set upon by the astonished picket, but he escaped unhurt through the volley

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1. The words of the letter, which are still preserved in folklore, were :

"Chiṭṭhi likhai Singh Bótā :	(Thus writes Bota Singh a letter :
Hatth hai soṭā	With a big stick in hand
I'ich rāh khalótā;	On the road I stand,
Annā lāyā gadde nū	Levying an anna for a cart
Paisa lāya khótā	And a pice for a donkey.
Ākhó Bhābi Khāno nū :	Tell your sister, Khano, who is my sister-in-law,
Yón ākhe Singh Bótā."	That this is a message from Bota.)

2. Rattan Singh, 229-232; *Shamsher Khalsa*, 76-77.

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of shots fired at him.[1]

Bhai Taru Singh's martyrdom : Such daring and desperate people being out of the reach of government, it wreaked its worth on gentle and harmless Sikhs. There was one Bhai Taru Singh, who lived in Poola, a village in the Majha tract. He was a young man of twenty-five, very pious and devoted to the service of the Sikhs, whom the iron rule had driven into the wilderness. He cultivated his fields, and whatever was produced he offered to his exiled brethren. This was considered treason. He was betrayed by Harbhagat of Jandiala, and was brought to the notorious *nakhas* of Lahore in June, 1745. He was asked to embrace Islam and to cut off his hair. He refused the proposal, saying that his hair were inseparable from his scalp. Zakrya Khan ordered his hair to be scrapped off his scalp. Taru Singh stood the ordeal bravely, reciting the words of the *Japji* and calling on the name of God. After a few days' torture he surrendered his soul on the 1st of July, 1745. His torturer too had died a few hours before him, not without suffering, because he had been attacked by a disease which had stopped his urine.[2]

Subeg Singh and Shahbaz Singh : Before his death Zakrya had been able to finish off another Sikh of note. Mehtab Singh of Mirankot had been captured and brought to Lahore, where he was publicly broken on the wheel. Zakrya Khan was, however, unable to see the end of his other victims who had been brought before him. A Sikh boy, named Shahbaz Singh, used to read in a Mohammedan school under a Qazi who wished to convert him. The boy refused. Then a trumped-up charge, like the one brought

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1. Many details of Sukha Singh's adventurous life are given in Sikh chronicles; such as his jumping into a well to put an end to his life, because his parents had shaved him off after drugging him; escape from his village with the mare of the headman, whom he afterwards paid a handsome price out of a bag of gold snatched from a rich banker; his fighting a duel with a burly and better-armed Afghan and killing him; his killing Karma Chhina in a duel; and finally his dying in an action while disputing the passage of the Durranis over the Ravi in 1751.
2. Rattan Singh, 254-258, 287-288; Kesar Singh, 152; Khushwaqt Rai, 45a-b; Ali-ud-Din, 211; Sohan Lal, 108-109; Cunningham, 99-100.

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eleven years before against Haqiqat Rai,[1] was levelled against him, and he was sent up to Lahore to stand his trial before the governor. At the same time his father, Subeg Singh, was also arrested and put under restraint. This man was an influential zemindar of Jambar and held contracts from government. He had proved useful to Zakrya Khan on many occasions, such as the one already narrated when he had successfully negotiated with the Khalsa and persuaded them to accept the Nawabship. But when persecution became rampant, he too was roped in on the suspicion that he was supplying information to the Sikhs.

The death of Zakrya Khan gave him a little respite, which has afforded a chance to some writers to indulge in an episode, of Taru Singh's brief revival, Zakrya's repentance, Subeg Singh's appointment as the Kotwal of Lahore, the removal by his orders of the instruments of torture, and the suspension of persecutions. But looking at the whole atmosphere and the policy at work, we see no break in the chain of persecutions.

Yahiya Khan, the son and successor of Zakrya, was as relentless as his father, with the added cruelty of a coward. He had no soft corner in his heart for Subeg Singh, and therefore, he took up his case and pursued it with vigour. Subeg Singh was asked to give up his religion, and on his refusal he was put on the wheel. When that too did not break his spirit, his son, Shahbaz Singh, was bound to the wheel and turned on it in his presence. Both bore the torture with great patience, and went on shouting 'Akal ! Akal !'. After some time the voice of the child became feeble, and when next the question was put to him whether he would yield, he lowered his head in acquiescence. The father promptly looked into his eyes and asked him to repeat 'Akal'. In a moment the child was himself again, and gave a hearty shout. The wheel with the slashing knives arranged around it, went on working mercilessly, until both were finished.

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1. He was a 15-year old son of Bagh Mal Puri, a Khatri of Sialkot, and was married to a Sikh girl, the daughter of Kishen Singh of Batala. He was arraigned for using disrespectful language for Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed, and was sent to Lahore for trial. He was offered the usual choice between Islam and death. The boy chose the latter, and was beheaded in 1734.

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Lakhpat Rai and Sikhs : Yahiya Khan confirmed Lakhpat Rai in his post of Diwan. This Hindu minister may have had some sympathy with the Sikhs in the beginning, but as he could maintain his position and influence with the government only by identifying himself whole-heartedly with its policy, he became an active opponent of the Sikhs. His brother, Jaspat Rai, the Faujdar of Eminabad, was at one with him. In 1746 he was reported to be collecting revenue from people with unnecessary severity. Many landholders in disgust joined the Khalsa. A band of Sikhs, driven from place to place, came to Eminabad to pay a visit to Rori Sahib, a temple sacred to the memory of Guru Nanak. According to Ali-ud-Din, it was reported to Jaspat Rai at Khokhran that the Sikhs had driven away a herd of sheep from Gondlanwala and were eating them near the Gurdwara. Rattan Singh, on the other hand, says that the Sikhs had addressed a letter to Jaspat Rai, asking for permission to purchase provisions from his town. The hot-tempered Faujdar, in reply, ordered them to move away immediately, or he would have to drive them out. The Sikhs represented that they had been without food for several days, and that they would stay only for a night to feed themselves, and then they would depart. The incensed Jaspat would not listen to them, and fell upon them with all the forces he had with him. The Sikhs resisted the attack, and, during the scuffle, a Ranghreta Sikh, named Nibbau Singh, got on to the elephant of Jaspat Rai and cut off his head. This proved a signal for a general stampede of the Mughal troops, and the day rested with the Khalsa. They fell upon the town of Eminabad, and carried away much booty. In return for Rs. 500 they allowed the head of Jaspat Rai to be taken away for cremation by Gosain Kirpa Ram of Badoke, where a tomb raised by Lakhpat Rai still stands.[1]

Lakhpat Rai was maddened with rage when he heard the news of his brother's death. He came to the Nawab at Lahore, and flinging his turban at his feet swore that he would re-tie it on his head only when he had destroyed the Sikhs root and branch. 'I am a Khatri,' said he, 'as was Guru Gobind Singh, the creator of the Khalsa: but I shall not call myself by that name until I have erased their name

1. Rattan Singh, 291-292; Ali-ud-Din, 229-30; Khushwaqt Rai, 47; Cf. *Chahār Gulshan-i-Panjab*, 169.

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from the page of existence'.[1] He got a general proclamation issued for the extirpation of Sikhs. To begin with, all the Sikhs living in Lahore were arrested and made over to sweepers for execution on Monday, the 10th of March, 1746. A deputation of Hindu leaders, including among others, Gosain Jagat Bhagat, his family preceptor, Diwan Kaura Mal, Diwan Lachhi Ram, Diwan Surat Singh, Bhai Des Raj and Chaudhri Jawahar Mal, waited upon Diwan Lakhpat Rai to dissuade him from spilling innocent blood, especially on the sacred day of Somavati Amavas. But he would not listen to them, and the terrible order was executed.

It was announced with the beat of drum that no one should read the Sikh scriptures, and anyone taking the name of the Guru would be arrested and his belly ripped open. Even the word *gur* (molasses), which sounded like *Guru,* was not to be uttered, but the word *roṛi* was to be used instead. The word *Granth* was also to be replaced with *pothi*.[2] Many volumes of the Holy Granth were collected and thrown into rivers and wells. The tank of the Amritsar temple was filled with earth.

First holocaust : A huge army, consisting of Mughal troops and auxiliaries drawn from all over the country, marched against the Sikhs under the personal command of Yahiya Khan and Lakhpat Rai. The Sikhs, about fifteen thousand in number, had taken refuge in the reedy marshes of Kahnuwan, which were inaccessible to the heavy-clothed troopers and their artillery. A way was, however, cut through for the movement of the army, and with the help of guns, the Sikhs were pushed out towards the Ravi, which they crossed and headed towards Parol and Kathuā. Lakhpat was close on their heels. The only course left for them was to take to the hills of Basohli, where they expected the Hindu population to shelter them. But they were soon disillusioned to find that orders had already reached them from Lahore not to give any quarter to them. The Sikhs were received with showers of bullets and stones, and were obliged to cry a halt. The situation was desperate. They had a steep mountain in front, with a hostile population pouring death on them, a flooded river to the right, and the enemy in hot pursuit behind. They

1. Khushwaqt Rai, 47; Ali-ud-Din, 229-231; Rattan Singh, 291-293.
2. Rattan Singh, 293-94; *Panth Prakāsh,* 519.

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had no food, no ammunition, and their horses too being weak, were trumbling into mountain-clefts and ravines.

They decided to retrace their steps and go to Majha. But the Ravi being in spate was unfordable. Two brothers of Gurdyal Singh Dallewal jumped into the river to see where it could be crossed. They never returned. Seeing no escape from the predicament, the leaders resolved that those who were on foot should try their luck with the mountaineers, and others who had horses under them should cut their way through the enemy. Those who went to the mountains were able to spend about six months in different parts of Mandi and Kulu, where they had to contend with great hardships, and then they rejoined the Khalsa at Kiratpur. The main body, with Sukha Singh as their leader, rushed upon the pursuing troops, but were surrounded and cut down in hundreds. Some were taken prisoners. Sukha Singh himself was wounded in the leg in an effort to get at Lakhpat. The remaining Sikhs were pursued into a jungle where they were again attacked not only by the army, but also by the common folk collected for the purpose from the neighbouring villages. The Sikhs found an easy prey in these impromptu soldiers, and were able to relieve many of them of their horses and arms. This happened on June 1, 1746.

The Sikhs, who were about two thousand, now got some respite to cross the Ravi and enter the Riarki part of Gurdaspur. When they came to the eastern bank of the river, the heat of the burning sand added to their torture of hunger and wounds. They tore off pieces from their scanty garments, and sat down to tie them to their naked feet. Thus rigged out, they crossed the sandy miles, and pushed on towards the Beas which was crossed at Sri Hargobindpur. They had hardly sat down in the neighbourhood of Yahiyapur to bake their *rotis* on the broad backs of their shields, buried in the hot sand instead of fire, when a party of local Pathans fell upon them. They would have settled their account well with these men, and eaten their cakes too, but they heard at the same time that Lakhpat had crossed the river and was to be soon on them. They gave up their cooking, and made straight for the Satluj. They forded it at Aliwal, and entered Malwa. Lakhpat Rai had had enough of fighting, and

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returned to Lahore.

In this compaign he must have killed at least seven thousand, beside three thousand brought as prisoners to Lahore. These too were beheaded at the Nakhas, after being subjected to indignities and torture. Their heads were piled up in the form of pyramids, and their mangled bodies were interred under the wall of a mosque. It was the first time that the Sikhs had suffered so much loss in a single campaign. It was therefore called the first *ghalūghārā*[1] or holocaust, to be distinguished from the second and the bigger one which occurred in 1762.

Lakhpat Rai's revenge was complete, but he was not destined to enjoy his triumph long. His power came to an end, with that of his master, in March 1747, when, after a civil war of about five months. Yahiya Khan was ousted by his younger brother, Shah Nawaz Khan, the governor of Multan. Shah Nawaz interned his brother, and threw Lakhpat Rai into prison. He took for his minister Diwan Kaura Mal, who was a Sikh of the *Khulāsā* (easy-going) or *Sahjdhāri* order. The policy of persecution continued, but with much reduced vigour on account of the changed circumstances. The Delhi government, guided by Wazir Qamar-ud-Din, the father-in-law of Yahiya Khan, considered Shah Nawaz as a usurper and would not grant to him the *sanad* (or the letters patent) of the governorship of Lahore. He, in fear turned for help to Ahmed Shah Durrani, the ruler of Kabul, whom he invited[2] to invade India. Alarmed by this new turn of events the Delhi Wazir sent the belated confirmation to Shah Nawaz, who again changed his front and dissociated himself from his new policy. He even sent away the Durrani's envoy with a rude rebuff, and poured molten lead into the mouth of another. But it was too late. The Durrani came pushing on, until he reached Lahore on January 12, 1748. Shah Nawaz fled

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1. Rattan Singh, 296-308; Aliuddin, 229-231. Cf. Kanhaiya Lal's *Panjab*, 69. When the Shahidganj mosque and the connected buildings were demolished in July 1935, some of the bones of the martyred Sikhs were recovered from the foundations. They were laying in layers, and in some cases complete headless skeletons were found.
2. *Tahmāsnāmā*, 63-64; *Siyar-ul-Mutaakhirin*, 861; Khushwaqt Rai, 48b; Ali-ud-Din, 233; Cunningham, 100.

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away to Delhi, and Ahmed Shah Durrani appointed Jalhe Khan, the Afghan chief of Kasur, as governor, with Momin Khan as his deputy and Lakhpat Rai as his Diwan.[1] This arrangement proved very short-lived, as the Durrani was defeated by the Mughals in the battle of Mānupur, near Sarhind, in the middle of March 1748 and the governorship of Lahore and Multan, fell into the hands of Mir Mannu, the son of the Wazir.

3. SUFFERING CREATES POWER (1748-1758)

Sikhs come out: The Sikhs took full advantage of the confusion reigning in Delhi and Lahore. The Delhi government was utterly weak. The discipline of the court was torn by the mutual jealousies and dissensions of the leading nobles, who were more anxious to pull down the power of their rivals than to strengthen the everweakening fabric of the state. The paralysis of the central authority led to the loss of provinces and invited incursions from the north-west. Nadir Shah had exposed this weakness, and Ahmed Shah Durrani, though defeated, had disorganised the administrative machinery in the Punjab, which had already been shaken by the internicine quarrels of Zakrya's sons.

This gave a chance to Sikhs to emerge from their hide-outs. A band of them under Charat Singh Sukarchakia made several surprise attacks on the fleeing followers of the Durrani, and pursuing them up to the Indus carried away a number of horses and other property.[2] Another group, which had been wandering in the mountains (see p. 133), came down to celebrate Hola Mahalla at Anandpur. After the festival, which occurred on March, 5, 1748, the whole force under Jassa Singh Ahluwalia moved towards Amritsar. Brushing aside the half-hearted[3] opposition of Adeena Beg, the Faujdar of Jullundur, who met them near Hoshiarpur, they pushed on to

1. Anandram, 261; Sohan Lal, I. 123. Kanhaiya Lal and others, like Latif and Narang, who follow him, say that the governorship was conferred on Lakhpat Rai and Diwanship on Momin Khan; but Anandram, a contemporary, is certainly more reliable.
2. Bakht Mal, 32; Sohan Lal, I. 127; Cunningham, 100-101.
3. Adeena Beg had never been very vigorous in suppressing the Sikhs. His policy was dictated by a fear that if he finished off the Sikh trouble completely, there would be left no need of retaining such an artful man in service (Sohan Lal, 109; Browne's *Tracts*, ii. 14).

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Amritsar. There they found Salabat Khan, the officer-in-charge of the city, ready with a force to check their entry. They fell upon him, and killing him in action took possession of the town and a lager part of the district.[1]

Khalsa declared a State : This proved a landmark in the history of the Sikhs, not because it was an occasion of great victory, but because it ushered in a new era, in which the Sikhs knit their scattered bands into a more homogeneous organization, and provided it with a local habitation in the form of a fort. The idea of *Panth* had taken a definite shape, and had gathered round it a compelling tradition of implicit obedience to a common leader and a sense of responsibility in the units and individuals to the Panthic whole. The organization, which had so far worked on a small scale and had been scattered by the incessant blows of the enemy, now assumed larger proportions. While there had been only a few leaders before, now there were scores of them, all requiring to be bound together in a closer union. They gathered with their followers in large numbers at Amritsar on the day of Baisakhi, March 29, 1748, and discussed the Panthic situation. At the suggestion of Nawab Kapur Singh, who was then growing old, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was chosen the supreme commander of the Dal Khalsa,[2] which was re-organized and declared to be a State.

Khalsa builds forts : The feeling of the new leader was that they could no longer trust their safety to bushes and caves; they must provide themselves with a regular fort, which should not only serve as a base of military operations, but should also lend security to their central shrine. They selected a piece of land near Ramsar, about a mile to the south of the Golden Temple, and on it they threw up a small enclosure *(rauṇi)* of mud walls, with watch-towers at the corners and a moat running round it. It could accommodate about five hundred men. It was called Ram Rauni, after the name of Guru Ram Das, the founder of the city. The whole work of construction was carried out by the Sikhs themselves, the leaders taking the most prominent part in this labour of love.

The leading Sikhs began to assert their rule over different parts

1. Griffin. *Rajas of the Panjab*, 500-501; Latif's *Panjab*, 315.
2. *Panth Prakāsh*, 907.

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of the Central Panjab. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Hari Singh, Karora Singh, Jhanda Singh and others, with five to six thousand horsemen, established themselves in the Bari Doab. Bagh Singh Hallowalia, with his nephew Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, and Jassa Singh Ichogilia took possession of a large part of the Jullundur Doab. Charat Singh Sukarchakia spread his power over the Rachna Doab, with his headquarters at Gujranwala, where he built a fort.[1] All adventurous people, and others who were sick of the Mughal misrule, began to flock under the banner of one or other of these Sardars.

These activities of the Sikhs, threatening the integrity of the Mughal state, could not pass unnoticed by Mir Mannu, the new governor, who got his appointment on April 11, 1748. Lakhpat Rai would have proved a useful hand in the business of Sikh baiting, but being a protege of the Durrani invader, he could no longer be trusted. He was thrown into prison and heavily fined.[2] His place, as chief minister, was given to Diwan Kaura Mal. Adeena Beg was confirmed in his government of Bist-Jullundur. These officials were not very eager to take action against the Sikhs. One was secretly a Sikh, and the other had always followed a kid-glove policy towards them. There were other reasons too for delay in starting a campaign against the Sikhs. The Governor himself had many difficulties to face in the beginning. He had entered Lahore with less than 2000 cavalry and a small number of other troops. He had to raise a strong army to meet his daily increasing needs. Zahid Khan whom the Durrani had left at Multan had to be ousted before Mir Mannu could take possession of that province. Kaura Mal led an expedition and fought a battle at Mati Tal, defeating and driving away the recalcitrant Afghan.[3] Then he was sent to Jammu to suppress the rebellion of the hill chiefs, who were made to accept the suzerainty of the Lahore government.[4] The fear of an Afghan invasion from

1. Sohan Lal, 127-128; Bakht Mal, 32. Cf. Budh Singh, 26.
2. Khushwaqt Rai, 53; *Tahmasnama*, A 72; Rattan Singh, 310. According to Rattan Singh, Lakhpat Rai was handed over to Kaura Mal in lieu of ten lakhs of rupees, being the irrecoverable balance of the total fine of thirty lakhs. He was subjected to a number of indignities, and died in consequence.
3. Ahmed Yadgar : *Tarikh-i-Salātin-i-Afghānān*, 242-248; Mohammed Yusaf : *Hālāt-i-Multān*; Hukam Chand : *Tārikh-i-Zilā-i-Multān*, 460.
4. Khushwaqt Rai, Sher Mohammed Khan : *Wāqaia-i-Multan*, 28.

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the west and of the intrigues of Safdar Jang at Delhi kept the nerves of Mir Mannu strung high.

When he felt himself well-settled in his seat as governor, he turned his attention to the Sikhs. He ordered Adeena Beg to round them up in his territory. Adeena as usual began to make conciliatory gestures, and invited Jassa Singh Ahluwalia to a conference. He proposed that the Sikhs should either agree to rule the country along with him, or to accept a separate territory, for which a grant could be secured from Lahore and ratified by the Emperor of Delhi. This would prevent much unnecessary bloodshed on both sides. Jassa Singh replied that there could be no meeting between parties differing so much in their outlooks and aims. The Sikhs wanted to wrest power with the same sword as the Mughals had used before them. Their meeting could take place only on the battle-field. As to the avoidance of bloodshed, he asked who had ever won freedom peacefully, without sacrificing the best blood of youth? Now that the Khalsa had taken up the sword, the Mughals too had come down to talk of peace. When the same sword would move a little further, it would bring sovereignty to its wielders. The Khalsa must rule as ordained by God, and not as a fief-holder from a foreigner.[1]

Failing in his negotiations with the head of the Khalsa Dal, Adeena Beg turned to the smaller fry. He was able to net in Jassa Singh of Ichogil, later on called Ramgarhia. This man had been ostracised by the community for the alleged murder of his infant daughter.[2] He went off in a huff, and readily agreed to serve under Adeena Beg. All the while his conscience smote him for having deserted his brethren, and he was ever on the lookout for a chance to go back to them. His opportunity came in the siege of Ram Rauni.

Siege of Ram Rauni : After the rainy season when the Sikhs gathered in large numbers to celebrate the Dewali festival at Amritsar, Mir Mannu thought that he could deliver a heavy blow at them. He marched with a force on the fort of Ram Rauni, and

1. *Jassa Singh Binód*, 43-44.
2. Among Sikhs infanticide is one of the taboos, for which the punishment is excommunication. See *Rahat nāmas* of Desa Singh, and Prahlad Singh; *Sikhism*, 117.

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ordered Adeena Beg to bring up his armies. The Sikhs stood on the defensive, about 500 taking shelter within the enclosure and the rest hiding themselves in the bushes near Ramsar. Those inside made occasional stories at night, while the others harassed the enemy from outside. The siege went on for about three months, from October to December 1748, and about 200 Sikhs were killed. There was great scarcity of food and fodder, and the besieged were obliged to resort to many shifts to replenish their resources. Delightful stories are told of Jai Singh Kanhaiya and his mare : how he would jump over the walls and, wresting provisions from the commissariat shops and throwing them in, how he would climb back into the fort. In their extreme distress the besieged decided to rush out and die fighting. Before doing so, they offered a prayer ending in the famous exclamation of *Sat Sri Akal.* This was heard by Jassa Singh Ichogilia, who was in the ranks of Adeena Beg outside. It sent a thrill into his heart, and he could not resist the appeal of the familiar cry. He decided to rejoin his brethren. A message was sent in by him, requesting his comrades in faith to forgive him and to have him back. They welcomed him with open arms, and he came in with a hundred followers.[1] Just at this time a thing happened which obliged the Mughals to raise the siege and to leave the Sikhs to themselves.

Second Afghan invasion : Ahmed Shah Abdali entered the Panjab for the second time. It was Maghar 1805BK. (December 1748), nine months after his first invasion. Kaura Mal advised Mir Mannu to stop the hostilities against the Sikhs, and to march his forces against the invader, while he himself undertook to lead an expedition against the usurper at Multan, Mir Mannu appealed for reinforcements to the Delhi government, which, however, being guided by Wazir Safdar Jang, the enemy of Mir Mannu, was not in a mood to afford any help. He had therefore to meet the Afghan invasion with his own resources, supplemented by those of Adeena Beg of Jullundur and Mehdi Ali Khan of Sialkot.

The Durrani divided his army into two sections. One under his own command kept Mir Mannu engaged at Sohdara on the left bank of the Chenab, and the other was sent under his general Jahan Khan to ravage the country up to Lahore. In the confusion caused

1. Rattan Singh, 311-315; Khushwaqt Rai, 53; Sohan Lal, 129.

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by the presence of the Afghan general near Shahdara, on the other side of the Ravi, Nawab Kapur Singh appeared suddenly at the head of twenty horsemen and had the pleasure of sitting on the platform of the Kotwali.[1] At the approach of Ivaz Khan, the Deputy Governor, however, he beat a hasty retreat. Evidently he had a bigger force at hand, because we are told by Ali-ud-Din that the Sikhs during the absence of Mir Mannu from Lahore ravaged and burnt the outskirts of the city.[2]

After making an unsuccessful attempt to force his way into Lahore, Jahan Khan returned to his master. Ahmed Shah and Mir Mannu too had been lying opposite to each other for about two months without fighting any decisive battle. They came to terms, by which the Shah agreed to go back on the stipulation that the territory lying to the west of the Indus would form a part of his Afghan dominions, and that the revenue of Char Mahal or the four districts, Sialkot, Aurangabad, Gujrat and Pasrur, assessed at 14 lakhs a year, would be paid to him, as they had been assigned to Nadir Shah in 1739.[3] With this treaty, Mir Mannu became a sort of tributary to the Afghan king, and went out of the control of Delhi.

Campaign against Shah Nawaz : Wazir Safdar Jang, as we know, was jealous of the growing power of Mannu, and had been trying to pull out his feathers to make him fly at a lower pitch. He had instigated Nasir Khan, the ex-governor of Kabul and the lately-appointed Faujdar of the four Mahals, to undermine the power of Mannu, but he had been failed in this attempt. He had also got Shah Nawaz Khan appointed as governor of Multan, independent of Lahore, which meant the reduction of Mannu's administrative charge to a half. Shah Nawaz was further encouraged to work for dislodging Mannu even from his governorship. This man reached Multan with an army of 15,000 horse and foot, and wrote to Mannu asking for permission to visit his father's tomb at Lahore. Mannu saw through the game, and prepared himself for war.

On the advice of Kaura Mal he made peace with the Sikhs,

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1. *Shāhnāmā-i-Ahmedia*, 114, 118; Sohan Lal, 129; Khushwaqt Rai, 52.
2. *Ibratnama*, 241.
3. *Shāhnāmā-i- Ahmedia*, 125-127; *Bayan-i-Wāqeī*, 146; *Tahmāsnāmā*, B 4; Aliuddin, 241.

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and not only allowed them to retain their fort, Ram Rauni,[1] but also granted them a jagir of twelve villages from the area of Patti and Jhabal, yielding a revenue of about a lakh and a quarter.[2]

He despatched Kaura Mal to Multan with an army, including some forces of Adeena Beg and Khwaja Ibrahim Khan, with a newly-recruited contingent of Sikhs, under the command of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. The latter were paid at the rate of eight annas per day to a footman, one rupee to a horseman, and five rupees to an officer. Beside this they were allowed to retain whatever was got in booty. Shah Nawaz came out to meet the army of Kaura Mal, and an engagement was fought near the villages of Langānā and Durānā. Shah Nawaz showed great bravery, but was defeated and killed in the battle. His body was buried with due respect near the mausoleum of Shamas Tabrez.

Mir Mannu was highly pleased with this victory, and heaped honours on his victorious deputy. He conferred on him the title of *Maharaja Bahadur*, and appointed him governor of Multan on his own behalf.[3]

1. From this time the unpretentious suffix *Rauni* (enclosure) which was only descriptive, was dropped in favour of *Garh*, which means a *fort*, and the place came to be called *Rām Garh*.
2. Rattan Singh, 315. See also *Shamshèr Khālsā*, 112.
3. *Tārikh-i-Ahmed Shāhi*, 23-24; *Tārikh-i-Muzaffri*, 457; Ali-ud-Din, 238; Rattan Singh, 316-317; Sohan Lal, 129, 131.

   According to Sikh accounts, Adeena's men did not prove as loyal as the Sikhs, who were mainly responsible for the victory of Kaura Mal. The Persian writers give the credit to the Afghans of Kasur.

   The date of this event, as of the revolt of Nasir Khan, is a little difficult to determine. It is easy, however, to find from the contemporary books; such as *Tārikh-i-Ahmed Shāhi* and *Tahmāsnāmā* the order in which these events occurred; i. e., after the second invasion of the Durrani came the revolt of Nasir Khan, and then the Multan campaign of Kaura Mal. It is also recorded in *Tarikh-i-Ahmed Shāhi* that the Durrani, in the autumn of 1751 before entering on his third invasion of India, had demanded from Mannu 24 lakhs of rupees as the arrears due for three years, and that Mannu had replied that Nasir Khan had fled away with the revenue collected by him during the two years that he was in charge of the Mahals, and that he himself could pay only for the one year that he had held the land himself. The stipulated sum for each year being 14 lakhs; the total amount due for three years could not be 24 lakhs. It could be for something less than two years. We know from Khushwaqt Rai

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Period of respite. **:** The Sikhs also were pleased with their friend, Kaura Mal, whom they began to call *Mittha* Mal. (*Kaura* in Panjabi means bitter, and *Mittha* means sweet.) He offered eleven thousand rupees as a thanks giving present to the Durbar Sahib, Amritsar. The holy tank, which had been filled up by the orders of Lakhpat Rai, was dug up and cleaned. It also provided a chance to Sikhs to perform service at the tank with there own hands, and they celebrated the Dewali of 1749 with great èclat.[1] Diwan Kaura Mal also spent three lakhs on the construction of a tank and temple in Nankana Sahib on the spot where Guru Nanak, as a child, had played with children.[2]

A period of peace seems to have dawned on the Sikhs. For about a year and a half they were left to themselves. They spent the time in recouping their strength and consolidating their organization. Sikhism being no longer an invitation for death, but an opening for a safe and promising career, it attracted many of the oppressed peasantry and the down-trodden menials. The number of the baptised Khalsa increased, and they enlisted themselves under different sardars of the Dal.

Third invasion of Ahmed Shah **:** This spell of peace, however, soon came to an end, when the news reached India that the Durrani was coming down for the third time. The Durrani's complaint was that no regular payment was made to him of the tribute due from Lahore. He had sent his agent, Sukh Jiwan, towards the end of 1750, but Mir Mannu had played him off with a small amount. Now

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that Sukh Jiwan, another envoy (who must have been sent here towards the end of 1750—before the Durrani's march to Khurasan), had been paid some part of the revenue. So it appears that the demand for the dues of three years was overstated, and that it could really have been for two and a half years; i. e., from the spring of 1749 (the first harvest after the departure of the Durrani from the *Panjab*) to the spring of 1751 (the last harvest collected before the arrival of Harun Khan). Nasir Khan took charge soon after April 1748, when Mir Mannu came to Lahore, and must have been killed in September or October of the same year. Rattan Singh also agrees with the same date. Gian Singh, in his *Panth Prakāsh* (622), mentions the sum due as thirty-five lakhs and the period of default as two years and a half.

1. *Shamsher Khālsā*, 111-112.
2. Ramjas : *Twārikh-i-Riāsat Kapūrthala*, 14.

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Harun Khan was sent for the same purpose. He reached Lahore in the first week of October 1751, and demaded the payment of 24 lakhs as the arrears. Mir Mannu prolonged the negotiations in order to gain time for the arrival of Diwan Kaura Mal, who had been asked to hurry up with his forces. On his arrival, Mir Mannu felt strong enough to tell the Afghan envoy that the amount demanded could not be paid. The excuse offered was that Nasir Khan, during his tenure of the Mahals, had squandered away the whole revenue collected by him. After him under Mir Mannu only three harvests had been gathered. After deducting what had already been paid through Sukh Jiwan, only one year's tribute was due. If that were acceptable, it could be sent to the Shah. If not, the issue could be decided by the sword.[1]

Mir Mannu, who was already independent of Delhi, wanted to strike a blow for freeing himself from the authority of Kabul. He put forth a strong army to fight the invader, and in this he relied chiefly on Diwan Kaura Mal. The latter was able to enlist for him as many as 20,000[2] Sikhs, on the promise that after the invader had been driven away the Sikhs, would be permitted to occupy the hilly tracts of Parol, Kathuha, Basohli and the surrounding *dooms* or valleys. With Sangat Singh and Sukha Singh of Mari Kambo as their leaders, they were assembled near the Shalamar Gardens of Lahore. From there they were moved to the city, where they entrenched themselves near the Yakki Gate. Similar arrangements much have been made for the protection of the other gates. The city itself was left to the charge of Ivaz Khan, the Deputy Governor.[3]

By the middle of November, 1751, while the Shah was at Peshawar, his advance army under Sardar Jahan Khan had moved from Attock to Rohtas. The news created a panic in the countryside. And Mir Mannu to placate the invader sent him nine lakhs of rupees

1. S. P. D. (Persian), Misc. papers, 4-5; *Tārikh-i-Ahmed Shāhi*, 29a; Sohan Lal, I. 132-33. See also f. n. 3 of p. 141.
2. Originally 30,000 Sikhs had collected at Ghaniye-ke, but the number was reduced by the defection of 10,000 followers of Hari Singh Bhangi. This man had killed Khushal Singh Ramgarhia by a ruse, which brought him the wrath of the main body of the Khalsa. Fearing lest they should attack him, he left the camp with his men.
3. Sohan Lal, I. 129; Rattan Singh, 318-320.

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as part payment of the tribute in dispute. The Durrani pocketed the money and continued his march, until he reached Kotla Sayyadan, near Wazirabad, on or about December 4, 1751. Mir Mannu crossed the Ravi and took up his position at Sarai Balkhian, four miles to the north-east of Shahdara. Jahan Khan came up with his roving parties, and some petty skirmishes took place with the forces of Mannu.[1]

In one of them Sukha Singh, the leader of the Sikh contingent, was killed. He had crossed the Ravi with a small band of Nihangs, and unsuspectingly found himself in front of a large body of Afghans. He could not give them battle with the handful of men that he had with him, nor did he think it Sikh-like to turn his back. He decided to stand at bay, and receive the attack with valour. Out of the four batches of Afghans who rushed upon him, he was able to push back one, and was then surrounded by the others. He fell fighting along with a few of his companions. The remaining Nihangs retreated under fire, and through some misunderstanding were received with a shower of bullets from the city walls. Being disgusted with this treatment at the hands of those for whose defence they had risked their lives, these Nihangs and some others left the city for their headquarters.[2]

Seeing no prospect of getting to the city by the direct route, the Durrani invader hit upon a clever plan.[3] Leaving his camp intact, he made a wide detour and quietly crossing the Ravi at Ghazipur, towards the middle of January 1752, suddenly appeared at Mahmud Buti to the north-east of Shalamar. Thus being outflanked Mir Mannu hurried back to Lahore, leaving Jahan Khan free to join his master. Ahmed Shah, having no heavy guns with him, could not storm the city or run the risk of a general action. Mir Mannu, too on his side, did not feel strong enough to sally out for an open engagement. The war, therefore, dragged on indecisively. The whole countryside was laid waste by the Afghans, and for a distance of three marches no house was seen with a light, and grain became extremely dear. Flour was sold at the rate of two seers a rupee, while fodder could not be had even at that rate. People pulled down

1. S. P. D. (Persian), 12-14; *Tahmāsnāmā*, B-10; *Tārikh-i-Ahmed Shāhi*, 29.
2. Rattan Singh, 320-321.
3. Sohan Lal, I. 133.

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their houses to feed their animals on the thatch of their roofs.[1]

This state of affairs could not be tolerated for long, and the governor was obliged to summon a council of war. Some, like Bhikhari Khan, were in favour of peace at all costs. Adeena Beg, having his own axe to grind, advocated an all out attack on the Durrani. Kaura Mal was opposed to this, as he thought that the Lahore forces being raw levies were no match for the seasoned armies of the Shah. He was for waiting till summer, which was not far off, when the Afghans accustomed to cold climate would find the sun and the wind of the plains too much for them. This wise counsel was, however, brushed aside by the impetuous and youthful governor, who decided for immediate action. Next day, March 6, 1752, he fell upon the Durranis at Mamud Buti, and got defeated. During the action Diwan Kaura Mal was killed by a shot fired not by the enemy but by an agent of Adeena Beg, named Byazid Khan, a Pathan of Kasur.[2] Sangat Singh, the leader of the Sikh contingent, was also killed at the same time. The city was surrounded and its suburbs plundered, but Mir Mannu would still not submit. Seeing the slaughter of Mussalmans on both sides, the Shah wrote to him that he had only to settle his account with the Hindu Kaura Mal, who had been killed. There was now left no cause for them to shed the Muslim blood. Peace could be made if Mannu would pay up the money asked for.[3] Mir Mannu agreed to appear before the Shah and offer his submission. The Shah was pleased with the fearless bearing of his brave adversary, and expressed his admiration for his courage[4] and forthitude. He called him his own son, and granted

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1. *Tahmāsnāmā*, B 14; Ali-ud-Din, 242; Khushwaqt Rai, 55; *Shamsher Khālsā*, 113; *History of the Panjab* (Allen & Co.), 198-199.
2. Aliuddin, 242; *Farhat-un-Nāzirin* in E. & D. viii. 168. Cf. *Ahwāl-i-Adeena Beg*, 8.
3. *Tārikh-i-Ahmed Shāhi*, 31; *Tahmāsnāmā*, B 16; *Tārikh-i-Ali*, 225.
4. An interesting talk is said to have taken place between Mir Mannu and his conquerer :
   Durrani : Why didn't you come earlier to submit? *Mannu* : Because then I had another master to serve. *Durrani* : Why didn't that master come to your help? *Mannu* : Because he thought his servant was strong enough to look after himself. *Durrani* : What would you have done if I had fallen in your hands?

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him the title of 'Farzand Khan Bahadur', with a robe of honour and other presents. Adeena Beg who had been scheming for obtaining the governorship of Lahore for himself was put under restraint for some time, and Mir Mannu was reinstated as Viceroy of Lahore and Multan on behalf of the Durrani. This alienation of territory was ratified by the King of Delhi about April 13. Thus did these provinces definitely go out of the Mughal hands and became a part of the Afghan empire. Thirty lakhs of rupees were to be paid by Mannu to the Shah : 10 Lakhs for the grant of life to him and his people, 10 lakhs for the territory granted to him, and 10 lakhs for sparing the rest of India. Out of these 26 lakhs were paid down at once, and the remaining four were to be remitted to the invader before he retired beyond the Indus.[1] About the same time he deputed Abdulla Khan Ishak-Aghasi, along with Sukh Jiwan, to reduce Kashmir, and wresting it from the nominee of the Delhi Emperor added it to his own dominions.[2]

Persecution renewed : Feeling secure against any intrusion from Kabul or Delhi, Mir Mannu began to concert measures to remove the causes of distrubance within the country. He now stood in no need of the Sikhs, whose last link with the government had snapped with the death of Diwan Kaura Mal. He resumed his old attitude towards them, and withdrew the *Jagir*[3] which they had been enjoying since the early months of 1749. The Sikhs too returned to their old ways and began to bid for independence. They overran the Bari and the Jullundur Doabs, inflicting heavy losses on the

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Mannu : I would have cut off your head and sent it to my master at Delhi. *Durrani* : Now that you are at my mercy; what do you expect of me. *Mannu* : If you are a merchant, sell me; if a tyrant, kill me; but if you are a king, pardon me. *Durrani* : God bless you! my pardon is yours. (Narang, 141-42; *Tahmāsnāmā*, B 16; Khushwaqt Rai, 56; Sohan Lal, i. 134; Ali-ud-din, 243; *Hussain Shahi*, 25.)

1. *Tahmāsnāmā*, B 17; Khushwaqt Rai, 56; *Tārikh-i-Ali*, 227. According to some writers the amount paid to the Shah was fifty lakhs.
2. Kirpa Ram : *Gulzār-i-Kashmir*, 232; Har Gopal Kaul. *Guldastā-i-Kashmir*, ii. 149-51, *History of the Panjab* (Allen & Co., 1846). i. 201; Prinsep's *Ranjit Singh*, 13.
3. Gian Singh . *Panth Prakāsh*, 628.

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bigoted Sayyads and Pirzadas,[1] who had been responsible for the persecution of Sikhs. Then they crossed the Satluj and ravaging the territories of Sarhind, Thanesar and Jind came into conflict, in December 1752, with Kamgar Khan the governor of Sonepat and Panipat, who checked their advance and pushed them back.[2] About the same time, another force of the Sikhs, under Charat Singh Sukarchakia, made its way northwards beyond the Jhelum and reduced the whole area up to Sayyad Kasran. Muqarrab Khan, the Gakhar chief of Gujrat, was compelled to yield up his possessions beyond the Chenab.[3]

Seeing the rising power of the Sikhs Mir Mannu resorted to vigorous measures against them. In March, 1753, when a great concourse of Sikhs had gathered at Makhowal, called Anandpur, to celebrate the annual spring festival of Hola Mahalla, Adeena Beg fell upon them unawares and put many of them to death. This slaughter, however, had no deterring effect upon them, as they were accustomed to such assaults. It only intensified their resolve to rid the country of the enemy, and in a few days they were up again to attack the territories of the Jullundur and Bari Doabs.[4]

Gian Singh gives an account of two other punitive expeditions, led by the Kasur Afghans, Mir Momin Khan and Hussain Khan. But the severest action taken against the Sikhs was by Mir Mannu himself in the central districts. Once, while encamped at Batala, he heard that a band of Sikhs was causing trouble in the neighbourhood by blocking traffic and disturbing the population. By his orders Sayyad Jamilud Din Khan and Bakhshi Gazi Beg Khan moved out against them. After a sharp struggle all the Sikhs—about nine hundred—who had taken refuge in the fortress of Ram Rauni, were killed.[5]

On his return to Lahore, Mir Mannu set up his camp on the bank of the Ravi, about seven kos from the city, and sent out moving columns, under Khwaja Mirza, in all directions to suppress the Sikhs, wherever he heard of their risings. The Khawaja would every day scour the country for about thirty miles, and wherever he got a clue

1. Sohan Lal, i. 135.
2. *Tārikh-i-Ahmed Shāhi*, 45; Sohan Lal i. 135; Browne, ii. 17.
3. J. A. S. B., vol. xi, part I (187), page 99.
4. Browne, ii. 17; Malcolm, 92; Bakht Mal, 33; Cf. Forster, i. 273.
5. *Tahmāsnāmā*, 17.

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of the Sikhs he would fall upon them and kill them. Those who brought Sikhs alive or their severed heads or even their horses were rewarded with prizes. The Sikhs thus captured were hammered to death with wooden clubs. The same fate was reserved for those of them who were sent occasionally in batches of 40 or 50 by Adeena Beg from his territory of the Jullundur Doab.[1]

Finding the homes of Sikhs depleted of men, the Mughal forces under Mir Momin seized their women and brought them before Mir Mannu. He tortured them in order to force them to abandon their religion; but, as was expected, they bore all atrocities, including the cutting up of their children before their eyes, and did not yield.[2] This incident is recounted up to this day in the daily prayer of Sikhs.

The governor himself at times rode out for the hunt of Sikhs and brought in a large bag of them. Hundreds were put to death at the *Nakhas* outside the Delhi Gate of Lahore, and wells were filled with their heads.[3] But these proceedings seem to have produced no effect upon the Sikhs, as would appear from the following song of Sikh bravado coming down from those days :

"Mannu is our sickle,
And we are a crop for him to mow;
The more he cuts us the more we grow."[4]

The hunter in the midst of his game was brought down by the mightier hunter, Death. On November 2, 1753, Mannu rode out from his camp at Malikpur for the *shikar* of Sikhs. His horse shied (at the sound of Sikh firing, says *Pothi Tārikh-i-Singhān*, and at the flight of a vulture, says Gian Singh), and threw him off his seat. While falling, he got his foot caught in the stirrup, and he was dragged along the ground for some distance. As a result of this accident he breathed his last on November 4.[5]

1. *Tahmāsnāmā*, 19; *Haqiqat*, 26.
2. Gian Singh's *Panth Prakāsh*, 636-37.
3. Aliuddin, 240; *Haqiqat*, 26.
4. Aliuddin, 240.
5. *Tārikh-i-Ahmed Shāhi*, 85-92; *Khazānā-i-Amirā*, 98; Rattan Singh, 341-42; *Pothi Tārikh-i-Singhān*, 71; Aliuddin, 244.
   Tahmas Khan, in his memories called *Tahmāsnāmā*, gives a different account, but we have followed those authors whose account tallies with that given by Rattan Singh, Khushwaqt Rai (56) places the occurrence at Bhasin, which is 7 or 8 kos from Lahore. and this is the distance also mentioned in *Tahmāsnāmā* and *Tārikh-i-Ahmed Shāhi*.

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Weakening of Lahore Government : On receipt of the news of the death of Mir Mannu, Ahmed Shah the Emperor of Delhi bestowed the governorship of Lahore and Multan on his own baby son, Mahmud Shah, then in his third year, and quite fittingly appointed Mir Mannu's son, Mohammed Amin Khan, a child of two years, as his deputy. This puppet play lasted only for four days. On November 17, 1753, Mir Nizamud Din 'Intizam-ud-Daula', the brother of Mir Mannu, who had supplanted Safdar Jung as Wazir, was appointed absentee governor of the Panjab. The actual power, however, was vested in Mir Momin Khan of Kasur, an old friend of the deceased governor. Bhikhari Khan, a Turkish noble, was associated with him as joint ruler, Adeena Beg was retained as *faujdar* of Jullundur. These arrangements were got confirmed from the King of Afghanistan, who had been the acknowledged overlord of the Panjab since April 1752.

The baby governor, Mohammad Amin Khan, died towards the end of May, 1754, and the power was seized by his mother, Murad Begum, popularly called Mughlani Begum. Ahmed Shah, the Delhi Emperor, being deposed early in June, was succeeded by Alamgir II, who appointed Momin Khan as governor of Lahore. His authority was flouted by the Begum who relying on her eunuchs spent her time in flirting with her paramours. Her profligacies were resented by the better-minded nobles, who decided to put an end to this state of affairs. Their revolt was led by Bhikhari Khan, whose ambition had been thwarted by his being left out at the time of confirmation by the Durrani King. He was, however, seized by the Begum and confined in her palace. Later on he was beaten to death with shoes and cudgels. Khwaja Mirza Jan of Eminabad was more successful. He occupied Lahore, and threw her into prison. She despatched Khwaja Ubaid Ulla Khan, her maternal uncle, to Kabul and appealed to the Shah for succour. The Shah sent a force under Mulla Aman Khan, brother of Jahan Khan, and restored her to power in April 1755. In July, Ubaid Ulla Khan interned her in her mother's house and took the reins of government into his own hands. He proved a tyrant and plundered his own subjects, particularly the citizens of Lahore, under many pretences. His rule, however, lasted only for a few months, and he was replaced first by Momin Khan and then by Adeena Beg as nominees of Wazir Ghazi-ud-Din of

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Delhi in the months of March-May 1756. Adeena Beg in his turn left Jamil-ud-Din in charge of Lahore as his deputy, and himself returned to his own headquarters. Mughlani Begum who was in the custody of the Wazir sent woeful letters to the Shah of Kabul and Sardar Jahan Khan, appealing to them for help. A force was sent from Afghanistan under Jang Baz Khan, accompanied by Khwaja Mirza Jan who had been taken away as a prisoner by Mulla Aman. Lahore was occupied on November 25, 1756, without firing a shot. Jamil-ud-Din had already fled away, and his place was taken by Khwaja Ubaid Ulla Khan, with Khwaja Mirza Jan as his assistant.[1]

These revolutions and counter-revolutions broke up the whole fabric of administration in the country. Multan and the Four Mahals were being ruled directly by the agents of Afghanistan. Adeena Beg was playing for his own hand in the government of Lahore. Taking advantage of the confused state of affairs the local zemindars were taking power into their hands. The Afghans of Alawalpur and the Rajputs of Talwan, Phagwara and Kapurthala were gathering strength in the Jullundur Doab. The Randhawas of Batala and the Afghans of Kasur were assuming importance in the Bari Doab. The Bajwas in the Rachna and the Warraiches in the Chaj were seizing villages and raising forts, while the Tiwanas and the Gakkhars were collecting armies and carving out principalities for themselves in the land between the Jhelum and the Indus. The Lahore government was virtually left only with the capital and a few surrounding districts. It could not pay even the salaries of its troops, which had to be disbursed out of the money received from the faujdari of Adeena Beg.[2]

Fourth invasion of the Durrani : To complete the disintegration of the country, Ahmed Shah Durrani came down for the fourth time. In addition to the appeals of Mughlani Begum, already mentioned, he had received an invitation from the Rohilla chief, Najib Khan, and even from Emperor Alamgir II himself.[3] Receiving

1. *Tārikh-i-Ahmed Shāhi*, 86-106; *Tahmāsnāmā*, 21-35; *Tarique-i-Imādul Mulk*, 120-171; Khushwaqt Rai, 57; *Khazānā-i-A'mirā* 99; *Tārikh-i-Ālamgir Sāni*, 66-81.
2. Ahmed Shah Batalia : *Tārikh-i-Hind*, 870-71; Khushwaqt Rai, 57.
3. Aliuddin, 248; Nuruddin's *Ahwāl-i-Najib-ud Daulā*, 14; Franklin's *Shāh Alam*, 5; *Tārikh-i-Ali*, 255-56.

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no check in his advance, he entered Lahore, which was already held by his own men. He went on towards Delhi, which was occupied without meeting any opposition. The Mughal court, by Ghazi-ud-Din, the Grand Wazir, abjectly surrendered to the Afghan invader who entered the imperial fort on January 28, 1757. He announced that he was coming only 'as a guest' of the Emperor, and had no intention of seizing his throne. He also get it proclaimed that he granted peace and protection to the citizens of Delhi, and he actually punished some of the soldiers who had laid their hands on the residents' property. But he did not spare the grandees and the nobles of the state who had grown fabulously rich at the expense of the poor. A systematic search was made in their houses, and crores worth of jewellery, plate and cash was recovered. In the loot, Mughlani Begum rendered great help to the Afghans by pointing out how rich each noble was. She particularly got the house of her brother-in-law, Intizamud Daula, ransacked. For this she was rewarded with the title of 'Sultan Mirza'. A regular tribute was levied on each and every house in the capital. Yahiya Khan, the surviving son of Zakrya Khan, of Lahore, was placed in charge of this collection. Many people died of the torture inflicted on them during these operations, and some took poison to escape from their rigour.

On the Shah's demand a daughter of Alamgir was married to his son, Prince Taimur. He himself took to wife Hazrat Begum, a 16-year old daughter of the late Emperor Mohammad Shah, in spite of the tearful protests of her widowed mother. Besides he took away sixteen other ladies of the Mughal harem with 400 maid-servants belonging to them.

Muttra too was sacked ruthlessly. Jahan Khan ordered an indiscriminate massacre of the Hindus who had gathered in large numbers on the occasion of Holi. The Bairagi and Sanyasi recluses, according to Sameen, were cut down in their huts. In each of these hermitages was found 'a severed head with the head of a dead cow applied to its mouth and tied to it with a rope round its neck'. Even some Mohammedans suffered for their wealth. A number of women were taken away as captives, and the city was left in burning ruins. Brindaban, the city of Lord Krishna, was subjected to the same fate.

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The invader would have carried his arms into the territory of Suraj Mal of Bharatpur, and rapine and plunder would have continued unchecked, had not nature come to the help of the defenceless people. The Durrani was encamped at Mahaban, thirteen miles downstream from Brindaban. The Jamuna being at a low level was choked with the carcases of the slaughtered people, and the contaminated water drunk by the Afghans spread an epidemic of cholera among them, carrying away about 150 of them daily. The Durrani was obliged to break up his camp and hurry back to his country. He appointed Ghazi-ud-Din as the Wazir and Najib-ud-Daula as his own agent in Delhi. The provinces of Lahore, Sarhind, Kashmir, Thatta and Multan were placed in the charge of his son Taimur as Viceroy with the title of *Shah*, and Jahan Khan was associated with him as his deputy. He took away an immense booty, loaded on 28,000 elephants, camels, mules, bullocks and carts, in addition to 80,000 cavalry horses and men carrying loads of loot fallen into the hands of individuals.[1]

Sikhs assert themselves : The Sikhs took full advantage of the confusion caused by the weakness of the Lahore government and the invasion of Ahmed Shah Durrani. They organised a protective system of influence, called Rakhi, under which they offered full protection to Hindu and Muslim zamindars against all attacks and disturbances in return for a levy of one-fifth of the annual rent. This afforded a considerable measure of peace and safety to the person and property of the inhabitants, who became happy and contented. A few Mughals and Muslim Rajputs, who did not avail themselves of this offer on account of religious fanaticism or created trouble otherwise, were squeezed out and had to find homes elsewhere.[2] The system was, however, found acceptable by most of the people in the distracted areas, which passed under the control of Sikh sardars. These leaders set up forts in their

1. *Tārikh-i-A'lamgir Sāni*, 89-115; *Delhi Chronicle; Tazkirā-i-Imādul Mulk*, 208-55; Sameen) *Tārikh-i-Ahmed Shāh Abdāli*, 14-23; *Khazāna-i-A'mirā*, 53-54, 100. *Hussain Shāhi*, 30; Ghulam Ali : *Shah A'lam Nama*, 28; *Shahnama-i-Ammadia*, 201-202; Nuruddin : *Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-Daula*, 15; S. P. D., ii. 71; xxi 96, 98, 100.
2. Bute Shah, i. 371; Browne, viii; Aliuddin, 371.

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respective territories, and began to organise some sort of government which became the basis of the administration called the *missaldari* system. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had already carved out a principality for himself in the Jullundur Doab under the very nose of the great equivicator, Adeena Beg Khan. Jai Singh Kanhaiya and Jassa Singh Ramgarhia brought the neighbourhood of Batala, called Riarki, under their influence. The Bhangis, led by Hari Singh, Jhanda Singh, Lehna Singh and Gujjar Singh, spread themselves over parts of the Bari and Rachna Doabs. The strip of the land between the Ravi and the Ghara called Nakka was under the Nakai sardars. Sardar Charat Singh, leader of the Sukarchakias, occupied the land round Gujranwala, and occasionally carried his arms even beyond the Jhelum.[1]

At the end of March, 1757, the Sikhs collected at Sarhind under the leadership of Sardar Ala Singh and others and fell upon the van of Taimur and Jahan Khan, who were on the way to their new seat of government at Lahore. They carried away from them much of the treasure they were bringing from the Mughal capital. Another attack was made on them at Mevarkot (?), and the Afghan army was harassed and plundered. Such was the terror created by his attack that even Prince Taimur was rumoured to have been captured and killed.[2]

To wreak their vengeance upon the Sikhs, the first thing they did on their arrival in the Jullundur Doab was to destroy the town of Kartarpur, sacred to the memory of Guru Arjun whose Holy Granth in original manuscript is enshrined in the temple there. Sodhi Vadbhag Singh, the custodian of Kartarpur, being away in the Shivalik Hills, the defenceless temple was set on fire and the historic pillar, called Thamn Sahib, was reduced to ashes. The precincts were desecrated with the blood of slaughtered cows, the unsuspecting residents were put to the sword, and the whole town was ruthlessly sacked.[3]

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1. Sohan Lal, ii. 5. Also see scattered references in Bute Shah, Ali-ud-Din, Ahmed Shah Batalia, Rattan Singh and Gian Singh.
2. S. P. D., xxi. 116 (April 23, 1757); xxvii. 148 (April 5, 1757).
3. Nizamud Din : *Shāhnāmā-i-Ahmedia*, 210-223; Bute Shah, 477; Purser : *Jullundur Settlement Report*, 29; Rattan Singh, 323; *Shāmshèr Khālsa*, 121.

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Ahmed Shah on his return from Delhi stayed at Lahore for some time, and sent out a detachment to chastise the Sikhs at Amritsar. The city was plundered and the sacred buildings and the tank were demolished.[1]

The Shah formally installed his son as the Viceroy of all his Indian possessions, and to secure a friendly ally on the north he bestowed upon Ranjit Dev of Jammu the parganas of Zafarwal, Sankhatra and Aurangabad.[2] Having made these arrangements the Shah left for Peshawar on his way to Qandhar. During this journey he was much strafed by the intrepid Sardar Charat Singh, who gave him no opportunity to fight a pitched battle but kept on vexing him by pouncing upon the Afghans while engaged in pitching their tents in the evening or packing up and loading their baggage in the morning. This continued until the Shah got off to the other side of the Indus.

Taimur Shah and the Sikhs : The main task before Taimur was to cudgel down the Sikhs who would not let him rule peacefully. Hearing that they were going to muster in their thousands at Amritsar to celebrate their annual fair, Jahan Khan ordered Haji Atai Khan, who was moving about with a large force to subjugate the country-side, to march upon the town and to punish the recalcitrant sect. A *jehad* was proclaimed with the beat of drum, calling upon all and sundry to be ready for a holy war against the Sikhs. The Sikhs too felt the urge to defend their holy place, and gathered from all quarters under the leadership of Baba Dip Singh[3] to meet the attack. They marched out from Tarn Taran in the gala

1. *Hussain Shāhi*, 32; *Tārikh-i-Ahmed*, 23; *Budh Singh*, 37.
2. *Sialkot District Gazetter*, 16
3. *Dastūr-al-Aml*, by Sarup Lal, 84-85; *Panth Prakāsh*, 698-706.

Dip Singh was incharge of the Gurdwara of Talwandi Sabo, called Damdama Sahib, in the Union of Patiala. He belonged to the village-Paluvind in the district of Lahore, and had received baptism from the hands of Guru Gobind Singh himself. He was one of the most scholarly Sikh of his time, and had helped the Tenth Guru, along with Bhai Mani Singh, in preparing the final recension of the *Adi Granth*. Copies of the scripture written in his own hand or promulgated by him were accepted as most authentic, especially the four copies installed by him at the four Takhts. Hearing at Damdama Sahib about the desecration of the Golden Temple at Amritsar, Dip Singh started at once

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dress of bridegrooms, with festal ribbons on their wrists and saffron sprinkled on their robes.

Atai Khan took some time in coming, but Jahan Khan was able to collect a force of about two thousand horsemen who came to grids with the Sikhs near Goharval, in the neighbourhood of Amritsar, but being unable to cope with the situation fled in all directions. Jahan Khan tried to rally them with threats, but with little effect, until they were reinforced by Atai Khan's fresh men and artillery, which turned the tables on the Sikhs. The victorious Afghans pursued the Sikhs to the town and entered the precincts of the temple, cutting down five guards standing at the door and befouling the holy tank. After a few days Jahan Khan returned to Lahore,[1] thinking that he had finished the Sikh trouble.

But the trouble with the Sikhs was not over. It was further aggravated by another incident. Two Afghan troopers coming from Sarhind were killed by chance in the territory of the Sikh Chaudhri of Kot Budha Ramdas. Jahan Khan despatched a few mounted bailiffs to arrest the culprits, and the Chaudhri was tortured to the point of death. This outrage on the Chaudhri who was very popular was resented by the Sikhs as an insult to their community, and they rose in rebellion on all sides.[2]

Sikhs ally themselves with Adeena Beg : The Sikhs found in Adeena Beg a willing ally. He had fled away to the Shivalik Hills during the invasion of Ahmed Shah, and was biding his time to come down to the plains and to resume his power. Taimur wanted to have him on his side, or failing that to crush him and to appropriate all the wealth that he was reported to have amassed. He was

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to avenge the insult. Sikhs went on gathering round him, as he proceeded towards Majha and by the time, he reached Tarn Taran he had about 5,000 men with him. In the battle of Goharval he received a mortal wound, but supporting his wounded head. he went on fighting until he fell dead in the precincts of the Golden Temple, where a cenotaph stands in his honour. The place, outside Ramsar, where he was wounded is also marked with a memorial temple.

1. *Tahmāsnāmā*, 76-77; Bakht Mal, 39-40. For the desecration of the temple, see Browne, ii, 19, and Malcolm, 94.
2. *Tahmāsnāmā*, 77-78.

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appointed governor of Jullundur for an annual tribute of 36 lakhs of rupees. He accepted the post on the understanding that he would be exempted from personal attendance at the court. This condition, however, was not adhered to and Adeena's presence at Lahore was insisted on. He refused, and war followed.[1]

He sought the help of Sikhs in this emergency. He approached Sodhi Vadbhag Singh and Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, who were already burning with rage against the Afghans. A pact was concluded at the village of Mairī in the district of Hoshiarpur, by which the Sikhs agreed to help Adeena Beg against the Afghans on the condition that he would provide them with money and other necessaries of war. To avoid confusion between the Muslims fighting as the allies of Sikhs and those on the side of Afghans, it was arranged that the soldiers of Adeena Beg should wear green ears of wheat in their turbans.[2]

The combined armies—about 25,000 horse—issued forth from the hills to meet the Afghans who, under Murad Khan, the governor of Multan, as the supreme commander, with Sarfraz Khan, the faujdar-designate of Jullundur, and Buland Khan as his deputies, were advancing against Adeena Beg. A sanguinary battle was fought in December 1757 near Mahilpur in the district of Hoshiarpur. The Afghans were equipped with light pieces of artillery in addition to other weapons, but they could not stand against the furious attacks of the Sikhs who, though armed only with matchlocks, bows and swords, were reinforced with the spirit of revenge. Karam Singh of Paijgarh distinguished himself for bravery in this battle. Buland Khan was killed, and Murad Khan fled in panic to Lahore, leaving all his equipage to fall into the hands of Sikhs.

The victors then rushed upon the city of Jullundur and wrecked terrible vengeance for the doings of Nasir Ali at Kartarpur. His dead body was dragged out of his grave and subjected to extreme indignities suggested by blind fanaticism. Sodhi Vadbhag Singh, who was mainly responsible for these excesses, ordered the city to be sacked, only those being spared who could show a tuft of hair on

1. *Tahmāsnāmā*, 78; Ali-ud-Din, 253-254.
2. *Shāh A'lam Nāmā*, 55-56; *Shāhnāmā-i-Ahmedia*, Rattan Singh, 323-326; *Panth Prakāsh*, 647-48.

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their heads as a symbol of Hinduism. To pay the Muslims of Jullundur in their own coin, a number of their women were seized and after being converted to Sikhism were allowed to marry any Sikh they liked. To pacify their qualms of conscience, Sodhi Vadbhag Singh, as the pontiff of Kartarpur, told the Sikhs that he would get them absolved in this world as well as in the next ! He returned to Kartarpur after this and rebuilt the old demolished buildings of the temples.[1]

To reward the Sikhs for their help, Adeena Beg paid them a lakh and a quarter of rupees as *rākhi* of protection money for the Jullundur Doab. To ingratiate himself further with them, he acknowledged himself to be a sort of round-head Sikh, and brought *Karāh parsād* (communion food) worth a thousand rupees to be distributed among them.

Flushed with victory the Sikhs grew bold, and ransacked the whole country up to the neighbourhood of Lahore. An attempt was made to check the tide of their advance. According to a Maratha despatch, dated January 6, 1758, Khwaja Ubaid Ulla was sent by Taimur with an army of 20,000 horse and foot, but he was defeated in a battle, many of his captains were killed, and his camp and baggage were looted. All the artillery left behind by Ahmed Shah Abdali was seized.[2] Other forces sent against the Sikhs fared no better. Even the environs of Lahore were not safe. Thousands of Sikhs raided the city every night and plundered its outskirts, but no one dared to come out to face them. The gates were closed soon after nightfall. The situation becoming worse day by day, the whole machinery of government went out of gear.[3]

Adeena invites Marathas : Adeena Beg after weakening the Afghan power determined to take a bolder step and to drive out the aliens from the Panjab. He knew that hearing of the affront offered to his son Ahmed Shah Abdali would certainly come down to retaliate. He could not depend upon his Sikh allies who were

1. *Khazina-i-Amirā*, 100; *Tahmāsnāmā*, 78; *Ahwal-i-Adeena Beg*, 19 *Tārikh-i-Muzaffari*, 546-547; *Siyar-ul-Mutaakhirin*, 908-909; Rattan Singh, 327-329; *Panth Prakāsh*, 648-653.
2. S. P. D., ii. 83.
3. *Tahmāsnāmā*, 78; Ahmed Shah Batalia, 326.

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themselves out for an empire. He must look for help elsewhere. He opened negotiations with the Maratha chief, Raghunath Rao, who along with Malhar Rao Holkar and other leaders was stationed in the neighbourhood of Delhi with a vast army. He invited him to the Panjab, promising to pay rupees one lakh for a day of march and fifty-thousand for a day of halt. The Maratha chief readily accepted the offer and moved towards the north. On March 9, 1758, he reached Sarhind, where he was joined by Adeena Beg and his Sikh allies. Abdus Samad Khan, the Abdali's governor of Sarhind, had fortified his capital, but could not withstand the attack and was forced to fly. The Sikhs were the first to enter. They subjected the hated city to wholesale plunder, pulling down houses and digging up floors in search of hidden hoards.[1]

The Marathas were furious with the Sikhs for having anticipated them in the matter of loot, but the Sikhs claimed priority on account of their old grudge against the city and also because they had made it a condition with Adeena Beg. After a little affray the dispute was settled by an agreement that the Sikhs should vacate the city and when on march should always keep two stages ahead of the Marathas.[2]

The combined forces crossed the Satluj without opposition. Jahan Khan had come out half-heartedly to meet them in the Doab, but after wasting a few days in manouvering near the Beas he sought safety in retiring to Lahore. Even there he was not sure of getting sufficient provisions or munitions to stand a siege. He therefore, moved out with Taimur to Shahdara on April 18, and next day left for the frontier.

On April 19, 1758, the Sikhs and Marathas entered Lahore, and killed or captured all the Uzbak, Qazilbash and Afghan soldiers left by Taimur. The captives were taken to Amritsar, where they were forced to clean the sacred tank, desecrated and filled by Ahmed Shah and Jahan Khan.[3] Ali-ud-Din says that among the

1. *Tahmāsnāmā* 78-79; *Khazānā-Amirā* 100; *Siyar-ul-Mutaakhirin*, 909; *Ahwāl-i-Adeena Bèg*, 11; *Tārikh-i-A'lamgir Sām*, 164-165, Cf. Bakht Ma, 140.
2. Rattan Singh, 330-331; *Tazkirā-i-Imād*. 379-80. Cf. Malcolm, 95.
3. *Tahmāsnāmā* 81-83; *S. P. D.*, xxvii, 218; *Hussain Shāhi*, 35; *Tārikh-i-Sultān*, 134; Budh Singh, 37; *Haqiqat*, 37.

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visitors to Amritsar were the Maratha chiefs who paid their respects to the Temple along with Sikh sardars and were much honoured.[1]

The leading[2] Sikhs, who took part in this campaign with ten to fifteen thousand horse, were Charat Singh Sukarchakia, Tara Singh Ghaiba, both Jassa Singhs, Hari Singh, Lehna Singh, Gujjar Singh and Jhanda Singh Bhangis.

4. SIKHS BECOME SOVEREIGN POWER (1758-1765)

Sikhs make it impossible for others to rule : The Sikhs had conquered the country in the company of the Marathas and Adeena Beg, but they were soon to become the real masters.

For some time, however, the Marathas gave an impression that they were going to swamp all power in the land. Adeena Beg tried to make much of their presence. In the midst of fountains running with rose water, he erected a grand platform at the cost of one lakh rupees, and ceremonially seating Raghunath Rao on it offered him a public welcome. A few detachments of the Marathas pressed on to the north-west beyond the Indus[3] and to the south-west as far as Multan. But they soon had to abandon the Panjab. Their leader, Raghunath Rao, after a stay at Lahore for less than a month, realized that it would be impossible for the Marathas to hold the country on the strength of a few alien garrisons in their face of the rising power of the Sikhs, who were then issuing forth from their hill recesses and spreading over the land in all directions. The financial position of their central government at Poona was not strong enough to maintain their garrisons and their communications in such a distant country as the Panjab. They therefore decided to leave the government in the hands of Adeena Beg in return for an

1. *Ibrātnāmā*, 255.
2. *Haqiqat*, 36-37; Budh Singh, 36-37.
3. Some writers have denied the fact that the Marathas ever advanced beyond the Chenab. *Khazānā-i-A'mirā* (101), followed by *Jām-i-Jahānnumā* (120), mentions the pursuit of the Afghans by the Marathas as far as the Jhelum. The advance of the Marathas upto the Indus is recorded in the *Hussain Shāhi* (35), *Tarikh-i-Sultāni* (134), *Ibratnāma* (255), *A'hwāl-i-Adeena Bèg* (12), *Khālsānāmā* (41), *Imādus Saadat* (74), Khushwaqt Rai (58), etc. That some of the Marathas penetrated even into the Peshawar territory, under Tukoji Holkar, Narsoji Pandit and Sahaji Patel, is evident from correspondence published in *B.I.S. Mandal Quarterly*, Poona, xxiv-1 (93), July, 1943, p. 6.

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annual tribute of seventy five lakhs. On May 10, 1758, the main army under Raghunath Rao moved out of Lahore, only a few detachments being left at Multan and Attock, which too were driven out in the following year by the Abdali.[1]

Adeena Beg lived to enjoy the governorship of Lahore only for four months. During this short period he made desperate efforts to strengthen his hold on the country, which he could do only by extirpating his erstwhile allies, the Sikhs, who were daily growing strong at his expense.

Last struggle with Adeena : Adeena Beg shifted his headquarters from Lahore to Adeenanagar, a town founded by himself in the healthy region of Batala. There he gathered a large army, consisting of five thousand horse and nine thousand foot. To these were added ten thousand feudal troops contributed by different hill chiefs.[2] He ordered all the zemindars of the Panjab to take measures to destory the Sikhs wherever found. The Randhawa Zemindars showed greatest zeal in hunting down Sikhs. Mirza Aziz Bakhshi, a trusted noble, was placed at the head of an expeditionary force, with a contingent of a thousand carpenters to cut down the forest trees which gave shelter to the rebels. A siege was laid to the mud fort of Ram Rauni, where most of the Sikhs had taken refuge. Their chief leader, Nand Singh Sanghania, along with Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, Jai Singh Kanhaiya and Amar Singh Kingra, displayed great bravery in the face of desperate circumstances. At length they were able to make a hole in the wall of the fort, and slipped out of the hands of the enemy, leaving a few dead or captured.[3]

Another expedition, under the command of Diwan Hira Mal and Mahant Aqil Das Niranjania of Jandiala, was sent against the Sikhs. It suffered a heavy defeat near Qadian, where Hira Lal was killed, leaving much bag and baggage in the hands of the victors.[4]

The story of this repression of Sikhs would have gone on as usual, but was cut short by the death of Adeena Beg, which occurred

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1. *Delhi Chronicle; Khazānā-i-A'mirā*, 101; *Tārikh-i-Muzaffri*, 547.
2. *Ahwāl-i-Adeenā Bèg*, 13.
3. Ahmed Shah Batalia, 416.
4. Ali-ud-Din, 257.

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on September 15, 1758.

This old fox had been their secret ally, who to further his own schemes of ambition against his co-religionists had been unconsciously helping the cause of Sikhs. Towards the end of his life, when he thought, he had removed all the obstacles in his way—the Afghans and the Marathas—he began to pull down the very scaffolding with which he had raised himself we mean the Sikhs. But he was too late. The Sikhs were no longer the mere refugees hunted from place to place at the whim of the rulers. They had become a real power in the land, without whose cooperation nobody could establish his rule. Khwaja Mirza Jan, whom Adeena Beg had left in charge of Lahore, sought the help of the Sikhs (in September-October 1758) against the Afghans and Gakkhars, under the Durrani general, Nur-ud-Din Bamezei, and drove them away from the pargana of Gujrat.[1] Then came the Marathas, under Jankoji Shinde, armed with authority from Delhi, to take charge of Lahore and maintain peace and order. In March, 1759, Jankoji sent Sabaji Patil in advance to Lahore, keeping himself in the reserve at Machhivara, where he received the homage of the members of Adeena Beg's family. The real cause of his hesitation to advance on the capital of the Panjab, as given by *Tārīkh-i-Alamgīr Sāni*, was that the Sikhs had established themselves in a commanding position in Lahore and its neighbourhood. He therefore returned to Delhi. His deputy, Sabaji, however, was able to reach Lahore and to effect some settlement, such as the dismissal of Mirza Jan and his replacement by Mirza Ahmed Khan's, one of the Afghan captives; but he too could not do without the Sikhs' aid. When a force belonging to Jahan Khan's army crossed the Indus, they were defeated and pushed back by Sabaji with the help of Sikhs. The real effectiveness of the Sikhs' strength, however, was to be demonstrated in the coming events of History.[2]

Fifth invasion of the Durrani: Ahmed Shah Durrani entered India for the fifth time in order to avenge the insult offered to his son. His chief objective was to punish the Marathas against whom he had been receiving complaints, especially from Najib-ud-Daula,

1. *Tārikh-i-A'lamgir Sāni*, 191.
2. *Tārikh-i-A'lamgir Sāni*, 192, 205; *Rājwade*, vi. 378.

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his representative in India, who had been turned out of Delhi by the Marathas and was then being harassed by them at Sukartal, 70 miles east of Panipat. He also received invitations from certain Rajput rulers, like Madho Singh of Jaipur and Bijai Singh of Marwar, who felt aggrieved at the Maratha inroads into their territories. Even Alamgir Sani, the Emperor of Delhi, had been secretly urging him to come and rescue him from the galling yoke of his minister, Ghazi-ud-Din.[1]

The Shah, with an army of about 60,000 men, crossed the Indus on October 25, 1759. The Maratha garrisons fell like nine pins before the advancing army of the invader under Jahan Khan. Sabaji without striking a blow fell back from Lahore and fled towards Sukartal. The ownerless capital was occupied, and Surat Singh Khatri was directed to have the *Khutba* read and coins struck in the name of Prince Taimur. Sabaji's detachments could not be withdrawn in time. One general and several soldiers found lingering near Lahore were cut to pieces by the Afghan vanguard. Another force of the Marathas while crossing the Satluj was set upon by the villagers of the Doab and deprived of 4000 camels, most of their horses, treasure and other property.[2]

Though the Marathas had struck no blow, the Sikhs did not fail in their duty. They resisted the advance of the invaders, and fought a severe battle in which 2000 Afghans were killed and their general Jahan Khan was wounded.[3] The Shah, however, continued his march and passing through Sarhind, Ambala and Taraori where he defeated Dataji Shinde, he came to Saharanpur, where he was joined by Najib-ud-Daula, the Ruhila chief. On January 9, 1760, a battle was fought at Barari Ghat where the Marathas suffered another defeat and Dataji was killed. The Shah spent a year in the neighbourhood of Delhi, having a few brushes and waiting for the final struggle with the Marathas.

The historic battle of Panipat was fought on January 14, 1761.

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1. *Ahwāl-i-Najibud Daulā*, 19; *Khazinā-i-Amirā*, 101; *Rajwade*, i. 138. *S.P.D.* ii, 84, 106, and xxi. 176; *Hussain Shāhi*, 38; *Tārikh-i-Muzaffri*, 589.
2. *Tārikh-i-Ālamgir Sāni*, 211; Ali-ud-Din, 259; *Rajwade*, i. 139, 141-43, 146; Sohan Lal, i. 147; *Shāmshèr Khālsā*, 130.
3. *Rajwade*, i. 146.

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It sealed the fate of the Maratha empire in the north. It was a trial of strength between the Muslim domination and the greatest Hindu power of the day. All the north-Indian Mohammedan states had allied themselves with the Afghan invader, while the Marathas had to depend solely on their own resources. The Rajputs stood aloof, and the Sikhs were not invited. The only concern of the Sikhs with this battle was that during the close blockade of the Marathas at Panipat, in November 1760, Sardar Ala Singh of Patiala helped them by supplying provisions to them from the rear.[1] After the victory of the Durrani it was feared that he might take some strong action against Patiala. Barnala was actually looted by the Pathans. Ala Singh seeing the storm coming retired for some time to Munak, away from the main road; but the situation was saved by his sagacious wife, Mai Fatto, whose agent Beerum Dhillon was able to purchase the good-will of Ahmed Shah with the payment of four lakhs of rupees. By a rescript issued in March 1761, Ala Singh was confirmed in his dominion, as a ruler independent of Sarhind, in return for a tribute of five lakhs, to be paid annually through Mirza Mohammed Taqi, who was left at Patiala for the purpose of collecting the dues. For this act of submission to the foreigner, Ala Singh was condemned and fined by the Dal Khalsa.[2]

The Khalsa wanted nothing less than sovereignty. They availed themselves of the opportunity offered by the unsettled state of affairs caused by the Afghan invasion. Ahmed Shah on his way to Delhi had left Karim Dad Khan as governor of Lahore. He was soon recalled, and Sarbuland Khan was sent to replace him. This man, out of fear of the Sikhs, kept away from Lahore and made Jullundur his capital, nominating Saadat Yar Khan as his deputy to stay at Lahore. In rapid succession, two other governors followed : one was Diwan Surat Singh, an old servant of the state, and other was Mir Mohammed Khan, son of Mir Momin Khan of Kasur. None of them could check the daily increasing power of the Sikhs. The zemindars from all over the central Panjab had begun to throw up their allegiance to the foreigner and were gathering round the more popular and vigorous leaders of the land. On the occasion of Diwali

1. *Khāzina-i-Āmirā*, 107; *Tārikh-i-Muzaffri*, 598; *Siyar-ul-Mutaakhirin*, 913.
2. Karam Singh : *Ala Singh*, 207-213.

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in 1760, which fell on November 7, the Sarbat Khalsa gathered at Amritsar and resolved by a gurmata to take possession of Lahore. About 10,000 horsemen, under the leadership of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Charat Singh Sukarchakia, Jai Singh Kanhaiya, Hari Singh Bhangi, Gujjar Singh, Lehna Singh, etc., moved out to attack the capital. After cutting off all communications they ransacked the suburbs, and were on the point of breaking into the city, when prominent citizens prevailed on the governor, Mohammed Khan, to ward off the calamity by making a present of Rs. 30,000 to the Sikhs for *Karāh prasād*. The Sikhs accepted the amount, and retired.[1]

Having brought the authorities of Lahore to their knees and finding the whole fabric of the government going to pieces, the Sikhs felt emboldened to throw up mud forts everywhere and to occupy the surrounding areas. The local officials found themselves helpless. As for instance, the governor of the Chahar Mahal and Tahmas Khan, the author of *Tahmāsnāmā*, who was acting as the ruler of Sialkot, fell into the hands of Sikhs and had to pay a ransom before they could get their release.[2]

The Sikhs did not spare even the victorious invader. When on his return from Delhi his soldiers were crossing the Satluj at the ferry of Goindwal, they were set upon by a troop of Sikhs and relieved of much of their booty. About 2200 Hindu women, who were being taken away as captives by the Afghans, were also released and restored to their families.[3] The retreating Afghans were allowed no rest. The Sikhs 'hovered about the Afghan line of march, cutting off the supplies and doing what damage they could, but never making a direct attack'.[4] Every night the Shah had to throw up a slight work round his camp in order to secure it against the Sikhs' attack. In this manner he continued his march to the Indus, the Sikhs following him all the way.[5]

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1. Sohan Lal, 150; Ali-ud-Din, 262-63.
2. *Tahmāsnāmā*, 103-106.
3. Browne, ii. 22; Kanhaiya Lal, *Tārikh-i-Panjab*, 102-103; *Shamsher Khālsā*, 145.
4. *Rajas of the Panjab*, 230.
5. Browne, ii. 22; Bakht Mal, 47; Budh Singh, 47.

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Sikhs bid for power : On their return from the Indus, in May 1761, the Sikhs spread themselves over most of the Panjab, carrying their arms through the Majha and the Doab, and even beyond up to Nadaun in the Shivalik hills. When passing through the Chahar Mahal they were met by its faujdar, Khwaja Mirza Jan, who being outnumbered was defeated and killed.[1]

Finding his administrative arrangements upset by the Sikhs, Ahmed Shah deputed his general, Nur-ud-Din Bamezei, to chastise the refractory people. The officials in the Panjab were instructed to cooperate with him. On crossing the Chenab he was encountered by Charat Singh, who after defeating him forced him to fly, with 12,000 of his men, for shelter into the fort of Sialkot. From there too he was forced to fly after a close siege, and his garrison, after a formal surrender, was allowed to depart.[2]

Hearing of the discomfiture of the Durrani general, Khwaja Ubaid Khan (who had replaced Sarbuland Khan in the vice-royalty of Lahore) collected a huge force and, quite against the advice of his courtiers, marched upon Gujranwala, the capital of Charat Singh. The besieged Sardar came out now and then and inflicting heavy losses on the enemy would go back into his fort. Several Sikh Sardars, like the inevitable Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Hari Singh Bhangi, Jai Singh Kanhaiya, Lehna Singh, Sobha Singh and Gujjar Singh rushed to the aid of their beleaguered comrade and made a night attack on the besiegers. A few Sikhs who had entered the service of Ubaid Khan left him at this stage and went over to their co-religionists. Thus circumstanced, he saw his safety in flight. His leaderless troops were soon routed, and a considerable number of guns, horses, camels and stores of different kinds fell into the hands of the victors. Khwaja Ubaid found his way back to Lahore with some difficulty.[3]

Occupation of Lahore by Sikhs : The Sikhs followed up their victory with promptness, and appeared before the walls of Lahore. The leading citizens opened the gates to the triumphant Sardar, who led by Jassa Singh Ahluwalia entered the capital and proclaimed

1. *Tahmāsnāmā*, 108.
2. Sohan Lal, ii. 6-7; *Panth Prakāsh*, 762; *Makhzan-i-Panjab*, 417.
3. Sohan Lal. i. 154; ii. 7-8; Ali-ud-Din. 264-66; *Tahmāsnāmā* 108-9; Khushwaqt Rai, 60; Ahmed Shah Batalia, 340-341; Bute Shah, ii. 5; Rattan Singh, 387-88.

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him king, with the title of *Sultan-ul-Qaum.* He coined money in the name of the Guru, with the following inscription[1] on it :

Dèg o tègh o fateh o nusrat bè-dirang
Yafi az Nanak Guru Gobind Singh

Without completely establishing themselves in the city, the fort of which was still held by Khwaja Ubaid Khan, the Sikhs rushed out into the Jullundur Doab and routed the Durrani *faujdars,* Saadat Khan and Sadiq Khan Afridi, while the Hindu chief, Raja Ghumand Chand Katauch, who had been appointed governor of Jullundur, quietly left for the hills on their approach. Thus passed the entire Panjab, from the Indus to the Satluj, into their hands, with only a few refractories still holding out in the name of the Shah of Afghanistan. The communications between the frontier and the east were cut off, and the people intending to cross the Panjab had to make a long detour among the base of the northern hills.[2]

To celebrate their annual day of Diwali the Sarbat Khalsa came from all quarters and held a Panthic gathering at Amritsar on October 27, 1761. They passed a gurmatta to reduce the strongholds of all the allies and supporters of Ahmed Shah who were proving a hindrance in the liberation of the country. The one nearest at hand was Aqil Das of Jandiala, the Guru of the dissenting sect of the Niranjanis, who was always aiding the enemies of the Sikhs. He was informed of the decision of the Khalsa by Sardars Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, evidently with a view to getting his submission. But he instead of making a compromise with the Sikhs wrote immediately to the Shah and invited his help.[3]

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1. Most of the historians have given a different inscription, with the following words of bravado in it : *Sikka zad dar jahan ba-fazl-i-Akāl; Mulk-i-Ahmed grift Jassa Kalal.* It is very improbable that any Sikh ruler, much less a religious zealot like Jassa Singh, should have issued a coin in his own name, and that too a clipped name; i.e. mere *Jassa* instead of *Jassa Singh.* The fact seems to be, as given by Ganesh Das Vadehra in his *Chahār Gulshan-i-Panjab* (p. 178), that certain Muslim fanatics forged a few coins bearing this provocative inscription and took them to Kabul to ascertain the feeling of the Shah against Sikhs.
2. *Tahmāsnāmā,* 109; *Kapurthala Past and Present ; Panth Prakāsh,* 725.
3. Aliuddin, 267; *Gazetteer of Amritsar District,* 165; Kanhaiya Lal, 85.

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Sixth invasion of Durrani and second Holocaust : The Shah who was already on his way to India met the messengers of Aqil Das at Rohtas. He hurried to Jandiala only to find that the Sikhs had raised the siege and gone away towards Sarhind. The reason given by the author of *Hussain Shahi* for the hasty retreat of the Sikhs is that the followers of Aqil Das had hung out shanks of beef from the walls of the fort. But the real reason for their hurried withdrawal was that they wanted to take away with them their families and place them beyond the reach of the invader, either with their friends and relatives living in the south-western area, or in the south in the neighbourhood of Raipur and Gujjarwal. They had also to avenge the death of Sardar Dyal Singh Brar, who had recently been put to death by Zain Khan, the governor of Sarhind. Hearing that the Sikhs were gathering in villages close to Malerkotla, Bhikhan Khan the Afghan chief of the place called in the assistance of Zain Khan and informed the Shah of the Sikh menace.[1]

On receipt of this intelligence, the Shah left Lahore on the 3rd of February, 1762, and stabbed into Malwa by hurried marches. By the morning of the 5th February he reached the village of Kupp, near Malerkotla, where about 30,000 Sikhs were encamped with their families and all their belongings. He had already sent instructions to Zain Khan to march out with all his troops and deliver an attack on the front, while he himself would fall upon the rear. The order to his soldiers was to kill anyone found in Indian dress. To distinguish Zain Khan's Indian forces from those of the Sikhs, the former were asked to wear green leaves in their turbans.[2] Several thousand Sikhs, mostly women and children, were killed.

The Sikhs had been taken by surprise. They at once held a council, and decided to die fighting. They threw a strong cordon round the remnants of their women and children, and moved on fighting and fought on moving, occasionally turning upon their assailants and inflicting losses on them. Sham Singh Karorsinghia, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Charat Singh Sukarchakia led the main army and directed the movement of the non-combatants under

1. *Hussain Shāhi,* 61; Budh Singh, 47; Bakht Mal, 48; *Panth Prakāsh,* 729-30. Cf. Rattan Singh, 347-48.
2. *Khazinā-i-Āmirā,* 114; *Tahmāsnāmā,* 110; *Hussain Shāhi,* 65.

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protection. The Shah wanted to have a pitched battle with them, but they would not give him a chance. They pushed along fighting from village to village. The people of Qutab-Bahmani, Gahal and other places, through which they passed, out of fear of the invader's vengeance, gave them no shelter. Rather they fell upon them and killed off many. The Sikhs were obliged to trek on. Their aim was to reach Barnala, where they hoped to find some relief with Baba Ala Singh, failing which they could pass on into the waterless desert of Bhatinda.

Before they could reach Barnala, however, their cordon was pierced through by the Afghans and a wholesale massacre of the Sikhs ensued. About ten thousand at the lowest estimate are said to have met their death in these actions. This fearful carnage, which occurred on February 5, 1762, is called *Wadda Ghalughara* or the *Second Great Holocaust* in Sikh history, to distinguish it from the first which took place in 1746.[1] The famous volume of the Holy Granth, as completed by Guru Gobind Singh at Damdama Sahib, which was carried by the Sikhs before their armies on march, was also lost in this battle.[2]

The Malwa Sikhs had been comparatively more peaceful, and had given no trouble to the invader. Their leader, Sardar Ala Singh of Patiala, had been following a neutral policy and had given no help to his co-religionists in trouble. There was no reason why the Durrani should take any action against him. But his neighbouring rivals, the Nawabs of Sarhind and Malerkotla, poisoned the mind of Ahmed Shah, saying to him that Ala Singh was a secret ally of the Majha Sikhs, and that if he were put under arrest a ransom of fifty lakh rupees could be easily recovered from him.

When the Shah entered Barnala, which was in the territory of Ala Singh, it was expected that the Sardar, as a feudatory chief, would present himself before his liege lord and pay homage to him. Ala Singh, however, had slipped away before his arrival to the fort

1. *Tahmāsnāmā*, 110-111; *Khazānā-i-Amirā*, 114; Bakht Mal, 45; Khushwaqt Rai, 60-61; *Tārikh-i-Salātin-i-Afghānān*, 125; Aliuddin, 267-68; *Hussain Shāhi*, 41-44; *Tārikh-i-Muzaffri*; Rattan Singh, 346-58; *Panth Prakāsh*, 730-41; *Rajwade*, vi, 465; Browne, il. 23; Malcolm, 98.
2. *Panth Prakāsh*, 740.

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of Bhawanigarh. The Shah in his absence burnt down the town of Barnala and advanced on Bhawanigarh. Seeing no escape from the inevitable, Ala Singh through the mediation of Najib-ud-Daula sought the presence of the Shah, and pacified him by paying him five lakhs of rupees as tribute and a hundred and twenty-five thousand rupees more for permission to appear before him with his long hair intact.[1] He was, however, detained for some time, and then was released and confirmed in his dominion on the promise of a regular annual tribute.[2] The Shah returned to Lahore on March 3, and to create an impression on the Sikh population he brought with him fifty carts laden with the heads of the Sikhs killed in battle and a large number of captives. "Pyramids were erected and covered with the heads of the slaughtered Sikhs : and it is mentioned that Ahmed Shah caused the walls of those mosques, which the Sikhs had polluted, to be washed with their blood."[3]

Desecration of Amritsar Temple : To further punish the Sikhs he attacked them at Amritsar on the eve of the Baisakhi festival, i.e. April 10, 1762, when thousands of them had gathered for a bath in the holy tank. They of course dispersed at his approach, and he took occasion to blow up their sacred temple with gunpowder. The *bunghas* or rest-houses meant for pilgrims were destroyed, and the tank after being desecrated with the blood of cows was filled up with refuse and debris. As the buildings were being blown up, a flying brick-bat is said to have struck the Shah on his nose and inflicted a wound from which he never recovered.[4]

Ahmed Shah had still much to do to secure peace in northern India. He decided therefore to stay on, in spite of the approaching summer; and settling the affairs of the Marathas in a friendly way

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1. According to Ahmed Yadgar's *Tārikh-i-Salātin-i-Afghinā* (125), the Shah desired Ala Singh to appear before him with his hair cut. The latter replied that he was prepared to pay for the right to wear them. How much would he pay, asked the Shah. One lakh, was the reply. The Shah accepted the offer. Aliuddin gives this figure as 1,25,000.
2. Aliuddin, 268. Cf. Bute Shah, i. 627; Kanhaiya Lal's *Tārikh-i-Panjab,* 85.
3. Forster, i. 279.
4. *Tārikh-i-Sultāni,* 132; Aliuddin, 270; Khushwaqt Rai, 61; *Hussain Shāhi; Chahār Gulshan* 171; Sohan Lal, i. 155; Malcolm, 98; *Panth Prakāsh,* 742.

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by recognising the authority of the Peshwa,[1] and, reconquering Kashmir and replacing Sukjiwan with Nawab Sarbuland Khan as its governor,[2] he turned his attention to the Sikhs. For some time, however, on account of the oppressive heat of the plains, he could not do anything against them, beyond merely asking the various chiefs and zemindars to lend a hand in suppressing them. He himself retired to Kalanaur, a comparatively cooler place in the upper Bari Doab. The chiefs and zemindars had to bear the brunt of the Sikh attack without any aid from him.

Sikhs take revenge and defeat Durrani : The Sikhs were really furious this time. The pollution of their most sacred places, coming close on the unprecedented carnage of the 5th February, had stung them to the quick. Within four months, while the Shah was still in Lahore, they were once again at throat of Zain Khan, who looking in vain for help from his Afghan master was obliged to make peace with them. For this he had to pay them fifty thousand rupees as tribute. But he did not mean business. Hardly had they gone a few miles from Sarhind, when the treacherous Nawab fell upon their rear and looted their baggage. They turned back at this, and fighting a pitched battle at Harnaulgarh defeated Zain Khan and his Hindu Diwan, Lachhmai Narain, and took away everything from them.[3]

Emboldened by this success the Sikhs began to spread themselves in different directions. While Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Tara Singh Ghaiba took the Jullundur Doab, Charat Singh Sukarchakia and the Bhangi Sardars carried their arms to the north and north west of Lahore. For a full month, from 25th August to 24th September, 1762, a strong force of theirs lay encamped in the region of Panipat and Karnal—so close to Delhi—and such was the dread of their presence that the envoys of the Delhi Emperor could not proceed to Lahore and had to turn back from Panipat.[4] The Sikhs used to hover round the Shah's own camp with impunity,

1. Rajwade, vi. 382, 384, 423, 425.
2. *Khazina-i-Amira,* 115-116; Aliuddin, 269-70; *Siyar,* 929; Rajwade, vi. 384; *Gulzār-i-Kashmir* 232-330.
3. Rajwade, vi. 384.
4. *Delhi Chronicle,* 192-93.

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and the Shah wondered at their daring and the recouping power which made them unconquerable.

On 17th October, 1762, was the Diwali festival, and about 60,000 Sikhs had assembled on the occasion at Amritsar, with the resolve to avenge the insult offered to their temple and to retrieve the loss of national honour suffered in the Great Holocaust. Receiving news of this gathering, the Shah, who had returned from Kalanaur to Lahore and had no sufficient armies with him, thought of averting a clash by resorting to diplomacy. He sent an envoy to the Khalsa to negotiate a peace with them and to prevent that effusion of blood which their desperate determination threatened to produce....., but on the arrival of this person in the camp of the Sikhs, instead of listening to his proposals they plundered him and his followers and drove them away'.[1] Finding all efforts at peace unavailing, the Shah marched from Lahore and reached Amritsar on 16th October, the day before Diwali. Early next morning the Sikhs drew up their armies and made a desperate attack on the enemy. The Afghans fought with equal energy during the whole day of the Amavasya, which was darkened by a total eclipse of the sun, but they could produce no impression on the Sikhs. The tact and skill of the greatest military genius of the time in Asia gave way before the zeal and determination born of religious fervour and sacrifice. The Shah was compelled to withdraw his forces and escape to Lahore under cover of darkness.[2]

The Sikhs had given a signal defeat to the Durrani, but they did not expect him to take in lying down. He was sure to return with a larger army. They therefore escaped to their famous haunt, the Lakhi Jungle, not, however, without a minor skirmish which is described in detail by Ahmed Yadgar.[3]

The Shah had enough of the Sikhs for the persent. Hearing of some disturbances in Afghanistan he resolved to go home. Before his departure he gave the command of the whole province to Raja Kabuli Mal, Sarhind to Zain Khan, Jullundur to Saadat Yar Khan, the hill territory between the Satluj and the Beas to Raja Ghumand Chand Katauch of Kangra, Kalanaur to Ubaid Khan, the Bari Doab

1. Browne, ii, 25.
2. Browne, ii, 25-26; Forster, 100-101.
3. *Salātin-i-Afghānān*, 172-73.

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to Murad Khan, the Doabs of Rachna and Sind Sagar to Jahan Khan (in addition to his own province of Peshawar), and Kashmir to Nur-ud-Din Bamezei. On 12th December 1762 he left Lahore for Afghanistan.[1]

Sikh conquests : No sooner had the Durrani left the Panjab than the Sikhs came out of the Lakhi Jungle and other places and began to overthrow the government. The Buddha Dal, or the army of veterans, led by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, went about the country establishing *thānās* and punishing the enemies, while the Taruna Dal led by the younger leaders like Sardar Charat Singh Sukarchakia, established itself at Amritsar and undertook to cleanse the holy tank and restore the ruined temple.[2] When occasion arose they also issued forth to make conquests.

By this time the prestige of the Sikhs had been fully established as defenders of all the oppressed people in the country, as would appear from the following incident. While the Sarbat Khalsa were gathered at the Akal Takht on the occasion of Baisakhi on April 10, 1763, some Brahmins of Kasur came and complained against the Afghan inhabitants of their city, especially against Usman Khan who had forcibly carried away the wife of one of them and converted her to Islam. Hari Singh Bhangi of the Taruna Dal volunteered to help the aggrieved Brahmins, and being supported by Charat Singh led an expedition against Kasur. Usman Khan, with 500 of his men was killed, and the Brahmin lady was restored to her husband. The city was given over to plunder and a large amount of treasure fell into the hands of the victors.[3]

The Buddha Dal, under Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, entered the Jullundur Doab and, defeating Bishambhar Das of Lasara in the battle of Urmar Tāndā, took possession of a number of villages and recovered his old dominion.[4]

Being appraised of these activities of the Sikhs, Ahmed Shah deputed Jahan Khan to march against them. They heard of his coming

1. Aliuddin, 271; Sohan Lal, i. 159; Khushwaqt Rai. 61; Budh Singh, 48; *Gulzār-i-Kashmir, 233;* Forster, i. 320; *Delhi Chronicle.*
2. *Tahmāsnāmā,* 113; Sohan Lal, i. 160.
3. Bute Shah, 534-35; Ahmed Shah Batalia, 491-92; Rattan Singh, 371-77.
4. Sohan Lal, i. 160.

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on 4th November 1763, when they were assembled at Amritsar to celebrate Diwali. They postponed the reconstruction of the Temple and came out to have it out with Jahan Khan who was proceeding to Sialkot. Led by Charat Singh, who was aided by the Bhangi Sardars, Jhanda Singh and Gujjar Singh, they inflicted a crushing defeat on the Durrani's general at Sialkot and forced him to hasten back to Peshawar. All his relatives and dependents, including ladies, fell into the hands of the Sikhs, who sent them safely to Jammu.[1]

The Sikhs, under Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, next turned to Malerkotla to settle their account with Bhikhan Khan for the part played by him in the *Ghalughara*. The Khan came out to meet them, but was overpowered by the Sikhs and killed in action.[2] In this battle Ala Singh had also sent his Patiala contingent to help the Buddha Dal.[3]

The Dal moved on in the north-easterly direction, and entering the territory of Sarhind fell upon Morinda, whose inhabitants, Jani Khan and Mani Khan, had arrested and handed over the sons of Guru Gobind Singh to the Nawab of Sarhind in 1704. The sons and grandsons of these two men, along with other Ranghars were caught hold of and hammered to death.[4]

The turn of Sarhind came next. Zain Khan, its faujdar, had become very unpopular on account of his highhanded rule. Tahmas Khan says about him : "I found that Zain Khan had changed all his previous rules of conduct. He would not pay the salaries of his troops and officials, and indiscriminately plundered the people of his province. The looted grain was given to his soldiers in lieu of pay, and that too only one fourth of what was actually due to them. He allied himself with the hill chiefs for the purpose of making money."[5] In addition to the disaffection caused by his maladministration, there were other factors which contributed to his weakness. His master, Ahmed Shah, was away in Afghanistan

1. *Delhi Chronicle*, dated Dec. 11. 1763; Sohan Lal, ii. 11; Ahmed Shah Batalia, 964-65; Ali-ud-Din. 274-75. 358.
2. Sohan Lal, i. 160; Browne, ii. 24,
3. *Tārikh-i-Khāndān-i-Phulkiān*, 16.
4. Rattan Singh, 369-70.
5. *Tahmāsnāmā*. 113-14.

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and could not come so soon. Saadat Khan of Jullundur was terror-stricken. Kabuli Mal of Lahore had no strong army. His friend and ally, Bhikhan Khan of Malerkotla was dead. His own officers, like Murtaza Khan and Qasim Khan had left him in disgust. He had therefore to meet the Sikhs with his own resources which were very poor.

The Sikhs, on the other hand, were at the fullest of their strength, all the forces of the two Dals having come together, besides Ala Singh's Patiala contingent under the command of Himmat Singh and Chain Singh. The total strength of the Khalsa present at the siege, as given by Gyan Singh, was about 50,000.

The Sikhs, united under the flag of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, made a determined attack on Sarhind on January 14, 1764. Zain Khan, in an attempt to escape, was shot dead, and his Afghan troops in a panic ran in all directions. They were pursued and cut to pieces. The city was subjected to indiscriminate plunder and its buildings were razed to the ground. Afterwards, in fulfilment of a popular prophecy, the place was ploughed over with donkeys. The spot where the infant sons of Guru Gobind Singh had been done to death was sought out and a Gurdwara, called *Fatehgarh Sahib* (or fort of victory), was built on it. With this victory the entire province of Sarhind, about 220 miles in length and 160 miles in width, extending from the Satluj in the north to the districts of Karnal and Rohtak in the south, and from the boundary of Bahawalpur State on the west to the Jamuna on the east, worth about sixty lakhs of rupees annually, came into the possession of the Sikhs.[1]

The way of parcelling out the territory among different leaders was peculiar. "Tradition still describes", says Cunningham, "how the Sikhs dispersed as soon as the battle was over, and how riding by day and night, each horseman would throw his belt and scabbard, his article of dress and accoutrement, until he was almost naked, into successive villages, to mark them as his."[2] But no one would accept the city of Sarhind of accursed memory. The leading residents of the city were then invited to choose their own master. They

1. *Tahmāsnāmā*, 119, Ali-ud-Din, 271; Sohan Lal, ii. 11; Bute Shah, 522, 584; Browne, ii. 24.
2. *History of the Sikhs*, 110.

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declare themselves in favour of one Bhai Buddha Singh, from whom Baba Ala Singh purchased it later on for the sum of Rs. 25,000.[1]

While the Buddha Dal, swept on by impulse of victory, crossed the Jamuna at Buriya and made a few conquests in the Gangetic Doab,[2] the Taruna Dal poured into the Jullundur Doab, and driving out Saadat Khan partitioned it among themselves.

They pushed on to Lahore, and seizing the neighbouring country, in February 1764, came to threaten the city itself. They demanded of Kabuli Mal to hand over all the butchers who were reported to have killed thirty cows openly in the town, and to prohibit cow-slaughter altogether in future. The Hindu governor represented that being a servant of a Muslim king he could not order this prohibition without involving himself in touble with his master. When the Sikhs broke through the Delhi Gate, however, he yielded and securing the consent of the leading citizens cut off the hands and noses of a few butchers, and paid a large sum to the Sikhs. He also agreed to keep with him an agent of Sardar Hari Singh Bhangi, one Tek Chand by name, who was to advise Kabuli Mal in the conduct of affairs and was to receive ten rupees a day as his allowance.[3]

The Taruna Dal was now divided into two sections : one under Hari Singh Bhangi marched to the south-west, and the other under Charat Singh took to the north-west. Hari Singh, accompanied by his sons—Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh—and the Nakai leader Hira Singh, ran through the whole region called Lamma and Nakka, which fell to the lot of the Nakai Sardar, until they came to Multan, which was captured and acquired by the Bhangis. They then crossed the Indus and overran the territory of the Derajat. Jhang, Khushab and Chiniot were appropriated by Jhanda Singh, the redoubtable son of Hari Singh.[4]

The other division under Sardar Charat Singh, early in summer, marched across the Rachna and the Chaj Doabs, brushing aside the Afghan resistance, and came to the famous fort of Rohtas

1. *Muqaddama-i-Chahārmian*, C 4-8, 16, 20.
2. Browne. ii. 24; *S. P. D.*, xxix, 55; *Calcutta Review*, vol. 50 (1875). p. 26.
3. Aliuddin, 273-74, Kanhaiya Lal, 87.
4. *Jangnāmā* of Nur Mohammed, 38, 40-41; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Panjab, ii. 208-217.

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beyond the Jhelum. It was held by Sarbuland Khan, who stoutly stood the siege for four months and would not yield. Charat Singh resorted to a feint which admirably succeeded. He pretended to raise the siege and move away. Sarbuland Khan came out to pursue the Sikhs, who suddenly turned back and rushing upon the fort took it unawares. Sarbuland was captured and held to ransom. He was so pleased with the kind behaviour of Sardar Charat Singh that he offered to serve under him as a governor if the Sikh Sardar would declare himself king. "The kingship is already bestowed upon us Sikhs by the Guru," said Charat Singh.[1]

The regions of Dhani, Pothohar, Chakwal and Pind Dadan Khan were subdued next. Charat Singh built forts and garrisoned them with his own troops.[2]

Seventh invasion of Durrani[3] : Hearing of the Sikh eruptions in the Panjab and of the failure of Sardar Jahan Khan and Sardar Sarbuland Khan to resist them, the intrepid Durrani made up his mind to descend once more upon India. He called upon his Baluch ally, Mir Naseer Khan of Kalat, to join him in the crusade against the Sikhs. "How can you think of going to Mecca," he wrote, "while the depraved sect is causing so much havoc? You should march from that side while I am moving from this, so that we may destroy these people root and branch. Be sure, a *jehad* on these infidels is more meritorious than Hajj to Mecca..... You are like a son to me and a brother in faith. Come that we may destroy these misbelievers and take their women and children into slavery." Naseer Khan, who had already heard of the Sikh inroads into Multan and the Deras, consulted his Muslim divines and secured a *fatwā* from them for a *jehād* against the Sikhs.

In October 1764, the Shah crossed the Indus with a horde of

1. Sohan Lal, ii. 11-12; *Chahār Gulshan-i-Panjab,* 178-79. According to Sohan Lal, who is followed by some writers, Sarbuland Khan was returning from his dominion of Kashmir under orders from the Shah. According to other authorities, supported by the histories of Kashmir, Nuruddin Bamezei was the governor of that province in 1764, and Sarbuland had not yet been sent there. See Kirpa Ram's *Gulzār-i-Kashmir,* 234; Gulab Nama.
2. Sohan Lal, ii. 9-10.
3. Most of the details of this invasion are taken from Qazi Nur Mohammed's *Jangnāmā*

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18,000 Afghans, and was joined at Eminabad by Nasser Khan with his 12,000 Baluchis. At Lahore Kabuli Mal joined his camp and remained with him throughout the campaign.

The Sikhs in the meantime had left their places on the Grand Trunk Road, and had vanished out of sight. A council of war was held by the Shah to determine how best to annihilate the troublesome people. It was reported that their main body had taken themselves to the Lakhi Jungle, about 150 miles from Lahore. Really a large number of them—about fifteen thousand—had gone to assist Jawahir Singh, son of the great patriot Suraj Mal of Bharatpur, against the Ruhila chief, Najib-ud-Daula,[1] and the rest were hanging about in villages and biding their time.

Even next day the proof that they were not wholly absent from the central districts was forthcoming. A horseman came up with a message to the Shah that 'an innumerable lashkar of the Sikhs had fallen upon the scouting party, and that if the Shah did not come at once to their help there would be all confusion in the world.' The whole assembled army was moved out, under Naseer Khan, to reinforce the scouts. The advance-guard was cut to pieces in the first scuffle, and then the main armies led by Naseer Khan on one side and Charat Singh on the other came to grips. The Sikhs followed their usual tactics of firing from the distance and then running away to reload their guns, while another body of theirs would come forward to attack from the other side and then disappear in its turn. "What a pity," writes our chief authority, Nur Mohammed who was himself present in the battle, "that the *Ghazis* should be killed by the *Kafirs* from the distance ! Had there been a hand-to-hand fight, the world would have seen some fun." The battle raged for the whole day and came to a halt with the nightfall. Next morning no Sikh was to be seen.

The Shah heard that the Sikhs had moved away to Chak Guru, as Amritsar was then called. He resolved to pursue them there and 'slaying the vile dogs to level the Chak to the earth.' He had several times done so before, and the Sikhs had as many times risen again and rebuilt their holy places. The Shah this time marched with a

1. Qanugo's *History of the Jats*, 174-76; Nuruddin's *Najib-ud-Daulā* (translated by J. N. Sarkar); *Islamic Culture*, Oct. 1933, pp. 632-39.

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light army, unencumbered by any heavy equipment, and still it took him four days to cover the 32 miles between Lahore and Amritsar. When he reached Chak Guru on December 1, 1764, he did not find any Sikhs there, except a few left in charge of the Akal Takht. 'They were only thirty in number. But they had not a grain of fear about them.' They were there 'to sacrifice their lives for the Guru'.[1] And they did so handsomely, grappling with the Ghazis, who far outnumbered them, and dying everyone of them as a martyr. Their leader was Gurbakhsh Singh Shahid of Leehl, whose mausoleum, called Shahidganj, stands behind the Akal Takht. The Islamis ran right and left in search of any more Sikhs, but finding none they destroyed the sacred buildings and returned to Lahore.

The Shah then called his chiefs to a conference, and with their advice moved his armies towards Sarhind. On the way he chose to pass through Riarki and the Doaba which were the homelands of the Sikhs and which promised much booty. He allowed his crusading troops to plunder the land, as it was a country hostile to Islam. They travelled slowly, about four miles a day, and reached Batala, a distance of 56 miles, in fifteen days. The entire country was ransacked, The people to his day repeat the saying made current in those days :

Khādha peeta lāhe dā,
Rahndā Ahmed Shāhe dā.

(The only property we hold is what we put into our stomach :
The rest belongs to Ahmed Shah.)

'Whichever way the army turned, the people were massacred in broad daylight. No distinction was made between Sikhs and non-Sikhs. The people ran away and hid themselves wherever they could... Nobody can count the number of things that fell into the hands of the crusaders. Whether men or beasts, all fed upon nothing but sugar-candy and sugar-cane. The stomachs of all, big and small, slaves and slave-girls, were filled with these four things—beaf, sugar-cane, sugar candy and sesame.' Ravaging and plundering in this way, the army crossed the Beas, when a little skirmish occurred with the Sikhs, who were pursued for about six miles into a deserted village, wherefrom they vanished overnight. In three days more the

1. *Jangnāmā* 100.

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Shah's army crossed the Satluj, not without a brief clash with the Sikhs, who, however, could lay their hands on nothing and went away disappointed.

The idea of going to Sarhind or following the Sikhs was given up, and the Shah was so pleased with the nature of the country that he spent two months in hunting and enjoying himself in Panjaur and other places, until he reached Kunjpura towards the end of February, 1765. There a council was held to consider the future line of action. Naseer Khan was for advancing to Delhi, where, he said, they could get together all the armies of Najib-ud-Daula (now free from the attacks of Jawahir Singh), Shuja-ud-Daula, the chiefs of Delhi, the Jats and the Marathas for the purpose of giving a crushing blow to the Sikhs.[1] For in his opinion, 'the hare of country could be caught only by a dog of the same country'. This proposal itself shows that the invaders had exhausted their own resources, and were not feeling equal to the task of subduing the Sikhs. The Durrani officers, who knew their inability to stand the glare and heat of the coming season, disagreed with the suggestion of the Baluch chief and advised the Shah to return to Kabul for the present and to come back after four months. The Shah agreed with the Durranis and ordered a march back to his country. Another thing which might have influenced this decision was the return of fifteen thousand Sikhs from Delhi, where they had been fighting on the side of Jats against Najib-ud-Daula, and now, peace having been made between the parties, were free to return home.[2]

From Kunjpura Ahmed Shah reached Sarhind in three or four days. The city, as described by Qazi Nur Mohammed, was in ruins; but being in the territory of Patiala, it became the scene of a meeting between Ala Singh and his suzerain lord. The Durrani who was shocked to see the sight of destruction, enquired of Ala Singh how the once magnificent city had come to that pass. Ala Singh told him that it had been destroyed by the Sikhs, who were incorrigible. He had tried several times to dissuade them by fighting and punishing them, but they did not care. People joined their ranks in ever-

1. *Jangnāmā*, 120.
2. Qanugo : *History of the Jats*, 177-78; Sarkar : *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, ii. 389-91, 466-68.

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increasing numbers. If one of them died, two more would come to take his place. Such is the boon granted to them by the Guru. 'If Your Majesty were to confer the territory of Sarhind on me,' he said, 'I would soon repopulate it better than ever before, but for that I should be excused one year's revenue.'

The Shah knew that no governor other than a Sikh could hold the land and pay him so handsomely. Ala Singh had proved this worth. He was a great zemindar, a good ruler and a strong and resourceful general. The Shah treated him with respect and granted him the title of Raja, with a khilat. He bestowed on him a drum and banner as the insignia of royalty. Raja Ala Singh in return was to pay annual tribute of three lakhs and a half.[1]

If the other Sikhs chiefs had also submitted to the Durrani, they would have been similarly accommodated. But the Sikhs were not inclined to accept sovereignty from the hands of a foreigner, much less from a man who had dishonoured their temples and whose hands were reeking with the blood of their women and children. They preferred to continue the struggle for a more complete freedom than to submit for a meaningless honour.[2] They even punished Ala Singh for having offered his submission to the foreigner.[3]

The Shah recrossed the Satluj at Rupar and entered the Doab. He had hardly gone a mile, when his advance-guard was set upon by the Sikhs. He at once ordered his armies to get ready for a fight. With himself in the centre, he placed Shah Wali Khan, Jahan Khan and others, with 12,000 men on the right, and Naseer Khan with an equal number of his Baluchis on the left. The Sikhs, on the other side, also arranged themselves in a regular battle array. The two Jassa Singhs were in the centre, while Charat Singh Sukarchakia commanded the right, along with Jhanda Singh and Lehna Singh Bhangis and Jai Singh Kanhaiya, and Hari Singh Bhangi, Ram Das, Gulab Singh and Gujjar Singh were on the left. They followed their usual tactics : discharging their guns from a distance and retiring to draw the enemy after them, and then wheeling round to fall upon

1. *Jangnāmā*, 125-28; *Risāla-i-Nānak Shāh*, 135; *Tārikh-i-Patialā*, 62; Karam Singh : *Ala Singh*, 241.
2. *Jangnāmā*, 127; *Ala Singh*, 240-41.
3. *Tārikh-i-Patialā*, 57-59; *Ala Singh*, 245-47.

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their pursuers.[1] For seven days these skirmishes went on, while the Durrani was heading for the Beas; and then was fought a last battle on the banks of this river, after which the Sikhs retired as if to prepare themselves for the Durrani's attack on Lahore. But the Durrani did not stop at Lahore. He made straight for the frontier, crossing the Chenab and the Jhelum until he came to Rohtas, where he permitted Kabuli Mal to return to Lahore, and bade farewell to his brave allay, Naseer Khan, thanking him for his valuable cooperation and granting him the territory of Shāl, now called Quetta. He also wanted to make him a gift of Jhang, Multan and the whole country of the Derajat laying west of the Chenab, but the Khan respectfully declined the offer, apparently not having the stomach to hold the territory against the rising power of the Sikhs. When the Baluchis had left for their province, Ahmed Shah also wended his way towards Afghanistan.[2]

Sikhs take Lahore : After the departure of the Shah at the end of March, 1765, the Sikhs came together at Amritsar, and on the Baisakhi day April 10, they decided by a gurmatta to take possession of Lahore. While Kabuli Mal was away at Jammu recruiting a force of Dogras, the Bhangi Sardars, Lehna Singh and Gujjar Singh, with 2000 troops, appeared before Lahore. They won over a few Arains of Baghbanpura who were working as gardeners in the fort, and with their help they effected entrance through a hole on the night of April 16. Gujjar Singh was the first to enter. Then followed Lehna Singh. Tara Singh of Mozang rushed out with a band of twenty-five men, and dispersing the halfhearted followers of Amir Singh, the nephew of Kabuli Mal, took him into custody. Some say he was arrested in the midst of his festivities with dancing

1. The author of the *Jangnāmā* sees so much bravery in the sikhs that for once he checks himself in calling them opprobrious names, and praises once he checks himself in calling them opprobrious names, and praises them unhesitatingly. "Do not call them dogs," he says, "because they are lions, and show bravery like lions in the field. If you wish to learn the art of war, come face to face with them in battle...The body of every one of them is like a piece of rock, and in physical grandeur every one of them is equal to more than fifty...if their armies take to flight, do not think they are running away. It is only a war tactic of theirs."—*Jangnāmā*, 158.
2. *Jangnāmā*, 129-176; Ali-ud-Din, 276; Khushwaqt Rai, 80-81.

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girls. Early next morning Sobha Singh Kanhaiya of Niazbeg also joined the Bhangi Sardars, and the city and its neighbourhood were parcelled out among themselves.

In a short while the whole country, liberated from the foreign rule, passed into the hands of the Sikhs, and there were few parts which did not acknowledge their sovereignty.

The Khalsa looked upon this achievement as a mark of the Guru's special favour, and when coining money they repeated the inscription which had already appeared on the seals of Banda Singh and the coins of Jassa Singh :

Dèg o tègh o fatèh o nusrat bè-dirang
Yaft az Nānak Guru Gobind Singh.[1]

1. For translation see p. 85.

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NADIR SHAH : Is harassed by Sikhs, 120-121 prophesies about the Sikhs becoming rulers, 121; is assigned Chahar Mahal, 131-132.

NAKHAS (horse market) : Outside Delhi Gate of Lahore, where Sikhs were brought to be killed by torture; 113, 126-127.

NANAK, GURU : Early life, 2—4; education; his scholarliness, 2-3; question of his adopting a Guru, 12 f. n. 2; N. and sacred thread, 3; at Sultanpur; married, 4-5; attends a mosque; leaves service; takes up his life's mission, 5; his attitude towards caste, 5-6; his *Udasis* or tour, 6-12; inventor of *rabab*, 5; at Kurukshetra; N. and meat-eating; at Hardwar; Benares, 7; Patna; Assam and Dacca; Cuttack; Puri; J and Arti, 8; Pak Pattan; Kiri Pathanan, where makes converts of Mohammedans; exposes futility of *sharadh* ceremony; founds Mohammedans; exposes futility of *sharadh* ceremony; founds Kartarpur, 9; meets Shivnabh in Ceylon; at Gorakhmata meets Yogis, 9-10; Nepal and Tibet, 10; Mecca, 11-12; Baghdad; meets Vali Qandhari at Hassan Abdal, 12; N. and Babar's invasion; prohecy of Mughals' coming and their departure, 12 f.n. 1; estimate of his work, 13-15; establishes Sangats, 15-16.

NANAKMATA : Gorakhmata renamed, 10; visited by Guru Hargobind, 10 f.n. 141

NAND LAL BHAI : 64 f.n. 3.

NIRMALAS : 109.

PAINDE KHAN : Muslim captain of Guru Hargobind's forces, 43.

PANTH : Sikh community so called collectively, 77, 131; the Khalsa acting as the Guru, 108.

PAUNTA : Fort built by Guru Gobind Singh in the state of Nahan as a literary as well as a military resort 58-59.

PATNA : Guru Nanak at, 7; 9th Guru at, 52; birth-place of Guru Gobind Singh, 54; one of the four *takhts*, 53 f.n. 2, 53.

PIR MOHAMMED : A Persian scholar from whom Guru Gobind Singh learnt Persian, 59; saves the Guru in a crisis, 72-73.

RABAB : Invented by Guru Nanak, 5.

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RAI BULAR : Bhatti chief of Talwandi, 2.

RAI KALHA : A prominent Mohammedan of Jatpura, who be-friended Guru Gobind Singh, 73.

RAKHI : A protective system introduced by Sikhs to control Zemindars, 147, 151, 152.

RAM DASS, GURU : Serves Guru Amar Das in constructing Baoli of Goindwal, 24; is married to Guru Amar Das's daughter and succeeds his father-in-law, 24; founds Amritsar; encourages trade, 24-25.

RAM RAI : Son of Guru Har Rai; is sent to Aurangzeb's court, tries to please Emperor by changing the Guru's word, 48; is disowned by the Guru, 48; founds Dehra Dun 48; f.n. 2; announces himself as Guru, but fails to get acceptance, 49; appeals to Aurangzeb, who decides against him, 49; his followers called *Ramraiyas.*

RAM RAUNI : The first fort built by Sikhs after the time of Gurus, 131, 133; renamed Ram Garh; 136 f.n. 1, 142, 155.

RAM SINGH, RAJA : Son of Mirza Raja Jai Singh; helps Guru Tegh Bahadur, 53; meets the Guru in the east, and takes him along to Assam, 53-54.

RANGHRETAS : An honorific name given to Sikhs of the sweeper class, 58, 123, 126.

SAHUDHARIS : A class of Sikhs who in the days of persecution did not wear long hair, but followed the tenets of Sikhism in all other ways, 104, 129.

SAIDPUR : Also called Eminabad, q.v.

SANGAT : Organised assembly of Sikhs, 16, 53; the name is also applied to a meeting place, a Gurdwara, 52.

SARANDA : Invented by Guru Amar Das, 5, f.n. 3.

SARBAT KHALSA : A plenary session of the Khalsa, 107-108, 159, 161, 162-164.

SAT SRI AKAL : (meaning God is true, great and deathless) : A war cry of Sikhs, 134.

SATTA AND BALWAND : Two musicians, 18, 18 f.n. 1; authors of Coronation Ode, 32 f.n. 1.

SAVED ONES : The forty men of Majha, who deserted the Tenth Guru at the siege of Anandpur, 73; and then died for him in the battle of Muktsar, 73-74.

SHAH BAHLOL : 12, 12 f.n. 1.

SHAHBAZ SINGH : Son of Subeg Singh, q.v.

SHAHIDGANJ : 113, 173.

SHAH JAHAN : Prohibits conversion of Muslims and desecrates Baoli of Lahore, 41-42; War with Sikhs, 42.

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SHAH NAWAZ : 129, 135.

SHIVNABH RAJA : A prominent man, probably an Indian emigrant living at Jaffna in Ceylon, visited by Guru Nanak, 9.

SIKHISM : It is a life, 1; an all-around life; essentially a religion of the Name, 29; its development gradual, 36; secular as well as spiritual, 25, 36-37; distinguished from Vaishnavite orders, 1, f.n. 1; no reading of Hindu mantras, or veneration of Hindu temples or *avatars*, 19; sects, 42-44, 104, 107-108 Guruship in; caste in, 62-64.

SODHI VADBHAG SINGH : 148.

SRI CHAND, BABA : Son of Guru Nanak, 4; leader of Udasis, 20; is reconciled with Guru Hargobind, 44-45 f.n. 2.

SUBEG SINGH : A government contractor, negotiates peace with Sikhs on behalf of government, offers Nawabship to them, 116-117; is later on asked to give up his religion; on refusal is martyred along with his son, Shahbaz Singh, 124-125.

SUCHA NAND : 79, 82.

SUKHA SINGH OR MARI KAMBO : Companion of Mehtab Singh of Mirankot in avenging the desecration of the Golden Temple, 122, 121f.n. 3; gets killed in fighting the Afghans, 138-139.

SUKHMANI : A psalm of Peace by Guru Arjun, 30.

SUNDARI MATA : 63, 103, 109, 110 f.n. 2.

SURAJ MAL : 147.

SUTHRA : A humorist, founder of a Sikh order, 45.

TAIMUR : Son of Ahmed Shah Durrani, appointed ruler of the Panjab, 147; proclaims jehad against Sikhs, 148-149.

TAKHTS : Seats of religious authority, 38-39.

TALVANDI : (1) Birth-place of Guru Nanak, 2, 17; (2) In Patiala Union, a place where Guru Gobind Singh rested for nine months and re-edited the Holy Granth; also called Damdama Sahib, 74.

TARA SINGH, BHAI : 115.

TARU SINGH BHAI : 124.

TARUNA DAL : Army of the young, 117, 167, 170.

TAT KHALSA : Staunch followers of Guru Gobind Singh, the purists, 108.

TEGH BAHADUR, GURU : Is discovered by Makhan Shah; fired at by Dhir Mal's Masand, 50-51; returns Holy Granth to Dhir Mal; priests of Amritsar shut the Temple gates on him; founds Anandpur; sets out on tour, 51-52; is arrested and released, 52 f.n. 1; goes to east, 52; tries to make peace between Mughals and Assamese, 54; returns to Panjab, 55; converts Muslims 55; is arrested and executed, 56-57.

UCH KA PIR : 73.

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UDASIS : (1) The odysseys or preaching tours of Guru Nanak; 6-12. (2) A monastic order of Sikh preachers, 45, 62.

VALI QUANDHARI : A Muslim saint visited by Guru Nanak at Hassan Abdal, 12.

WAZIR KHAN : Governor of Sarhind, put two younger sons of Guru Gobind Singh to death, 72; had a hand in the assassination of the Guru himself, 76-77; is attacked by Banda's forces at Sarhind; is killed by Fateh Singh, 81-82.

YAHIYA KHAN : Son and successor of Zakrya Khan as governor at Lahore, persecutes Sikhs; executes Subeg Singh and Shahbaz Singh, 125; is ousted and interned by his younger brother, Shah Nawaz, 129-130, 146.

ZAFARNAMA : Epistle of Victory, addressed by Guru Gobind Singh to Aurangzeb, 74-75.

ZAIN KHAN : Faujdar of Sarhind, 162, 165, 166, 168-169.

ZAKRYA KHAN : (Son of Abdus Samad Khan) also called 'Khan Bahadur', Faujdar of Jammu, 93; becomes Governor of Lahore, 113; persecutes Sikhs, 112-124; dies, 125.

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